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ABSTRACT

Conducted in 1969, this intensive 13 week project (Kennedy-Javits Program) was designed to demonstrate effective methods of adult basic education for 50 hard core unemployed males working in the Los Angeles County Highway Department. Instructional emphasis was on the acquisition and/or development of basic skills in computation and communication. These skills were taught by a team of one teacher, a teacher counselor, and three subprofessional aides, in facilities provided by the county and fairly accessible to trainees. Other objectives included affecting trainees' life styles to enable them to seek, and motivate them to hold, gainful employment; improving their self-confidence in regard to learning; and providing a model for other instructional programs. The program was judged successful in terms of attitudinal and some other changes, but the need was seen to meet trainee needs lying outside the educational subsystem. (Included are seven tables, trainee compositions, and verbatim class discussions.) [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (LY)

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OPERATION
"RELEVANCE"

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OPERATION RELEVANCE

**A Pilot Project Conducted in Cooperation
with the
Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency
and the
County of Los Angeles**

**An Assessment
by**

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INTRODUCTION

The Kennedy-Javits Program of U.C.L.A. Extension was conceived to be a pilot project to demonstrate effective ways to provide Adult Basic Education for "hard-core" unemployed males. This program was initiated by Mr. Robert Vilmur of the Los Angeles County EYOA, and Mr. Earl Case of Manpower Division of Los Angeles County. These gentlemen approached the Adult Basic Education Institute of U.C.L.A. and asked if we could provide a program designed to provide relevant and academically gainful ABE instruction. This program was designed by the Director-Specialist of the ABE Institute and Harry Phillips, the Teacher-Counselor.

The objectives of the program were to:

1. Provide ABE instruction for approximately 50 enrollees who were at the level of 5.0 or lower.
2. Provide instruction which would assist them in their county occupations as street and road maintenance trainees.
3. Provide instruction which would affect their "lifestyles" to enable them to seek and be motivated to continue in gainful employment.
4. Provide a model of an instructional program that could be used in other sites by the EYOA and Los Angeles County, Manpower Division.

Much credit for the success of this program must be given to the dedicated work of the EYOA, with Mr. Robert Vilmur and Mrs. Nona Carroll, and to the Los Angeles County, Manpower Division, with Mr. Earl Case and Mr. Clifford Shaw.

University Extension, U.C.L.A. feels that this type of pilot project has great validity for other segments of ABE and that it has fulfilled its purposes in providing a pilot program built around the needs of the enrollees. If we were to develop a name for the pilot project we might call it "Operation Relevance", for the abiding theme throughout all of the training sessions, in-service work and staff development work was to maintain a high degree of relevance to the men's lifestyles and modes of work.

PROGRAM DESIGN

The program design of the 1969 Kennedy-Javits Program was based on the use of instructional teams, as was the 1968 CEP Project conducted by University Extension, U.C.L.A. It was felt that the 1968 experience had validated the efficiency of combining credentialed teachers with aides to increase the instructional potential of the classes. However there was no attempt to structure the teams in terms of instructor input, except that they should be able to understand the enrollees and be able to present instruction in such a manner that would lend relevancy to the learning situation. It was decided to have only male instructors, and that they should have had experience in ABE. To this end we recruited a credentialed teacher who had taught ABE, a former social worker and a graduate of a GED program. There was the hope that one of the enrollees could serve as a tutor, but this was not realized until late in the program. The teams started instruction with three men. The team then served both sites, with alternate days at each site for a four day week.

There was an additional component in having the team engage in in-service work built around regular meetings with themes related to ABE research and teaching methodology. The teams were not given any directions as to teaching materials or

teaching styles. These were to be developed in team effort. After a short period there was an enrollee tutor introduced, but this was not successful and had to be abandoned at one site and modified at the other.

The enrollees were selected by the Employment Service Center and were working on road maintenance projects of Los Angeles County. It was assumed that they were of level 5.0 or lower. Later experience showed that this was not always the case. Testing was done at the outset to establish some point of departure and the test results were used by the instructors and teams to develop objectives and goals. It soon became evident that the men were roughly divided into two groups, which we called the upper and lower, and instruction proceeded on the basis that the team divided its efforts equally each day between the upper and lower group on a rotation basis. One instructor, the credentialed teacher assuming responsibility for mathematics and counseling, and the other teacher, the para-professional aide, class I, assuming responsibility for language development and social skills. The para-professional aide, class II, was to assist in both classes, though primarily concentrated on mathematics.

The "New Careers" concept was to be introduced into the program with one of the enrollees to become a tutor or para-professional aide, Class III. Due to a lack of clearly defined role conceptualization, it was felt that his duty was not to aide instruction, but to assist in clerical duties. Counselors were to be available from the Service Centers and each man had a scheduled number of hours to be counselled. Test results were reviewed by the counselors with the men and each of the enrollees had other opportunities to speak with the Service Center Counselors. The credentialed teacher also had a number of hours added to his work schedule for personal counselling of the individual enrollees.

The program was designed to be "open-ended in that any enrollee could stop instruction at any time that he wished and return to a five day work week. This

was done by some of the enrollees. Others took their place. It was felt that the program should be kept at a maximum of 55 men at any one time. This would allow for not more than 30 men at any one work site on any day.

It should be noted that the design of this program was not to validate any approach to ABE education, but to develop through "action-techniques" a program that would be replicable in other areas of Los Angeles County Manpower work. Therefore, the program was not hardened in design and many changes were made on an "ad hoc" basis as it progressed. This was intentional and considered to be a basic part of the program design.

One last word, this program would not have been successful had it not been for John Henderson, a U.C.L.A. student who served as clerk, and Mrs. Caroline Connell, ABE Institute Secretary, who supplied much of the effort in ordering supplies and preparing payrolls.

Edgar M. Easley
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PROGRAM OPERATION

The Adult Basic Education Institute of University Extension, University of California, Los Angeles, administered an intensive thirteen-week educational experience for fifty Kennedy-Javits New Career enrollees during the Summer of 1969. The program was administered with intent to provide fifty educationally disadvantaged adults, then working for the Los Angeles County Highway Department, with a general foundation which would enable them to ultimately attain a high school diploma, its equivalency, or to go into advanced studies. Instructional emphasis was placed on the acquisition and/or development of basic skills in computation and communication. These skills were presented and taught by a team of one teacher, a teacher-counselor, and three aides, in a manner relative to the work and daily lives of the New Career enrollees. The classes were conducted in two separate locations, provided by Los Angeles County, both of which were reasonably accessible to the students.

Goals

The goals in the proposed program were: maximum student involvement in the teaching-learning situation; constant provision for the maximum gain in student growth; and intensive correlation between instructional activities and the enrollees employment tasks.

Objectives

1. To assist the new careerist in the development of positive self-attitudes in terms of his capacity to achieve in an educational situation.
2. To assist the careerist in the acquisition and/or development of basic skills necessary for further educational achievement.

3. To assist the careerist in understanding the translation of basic computational and communications skills into familiar and meaningful life experiences.
4. To assist the careerist change behavior as related to task performance.

Curriculum

Computation and communication functioned as core subject areas in a correlated curriculum approach. Instruction was inclusive of any and all high interest areas but with emphasis in the early morning on computation, and on communications in the late morning. Mid-morning was designated as a time for special projects emphasizing affective growth through multi-sensory approaches such as role playing, discussion groups, individual student counseling, etc. The five-man team met with the students at the Soto Street School on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and at the Grape Street School on Mondays and Wednesdays. Instruction occurred between the hours of 7:30 a.m. and 12:30 p.m., with the final hour from 12:30 p.m. - 1:30 p.m. being used for preparation and evaluation.

A varied selection of programmed and non-programmed software was made available to the teaching team for classroom use. Some hardware and multi-media equipment was made available upon teacher-aide requests, dependent upon supplies and funds available for purchase. It was felt that a correlated core curriculum approach which made specific provision for emphasis on both affective and cognitive domains would insure maximum flexibility in program implementation and in turn provide a more broad scope of operation in which to fulfill the stated program objectives.

Instructional Teams

The instruction was carried out at sites within the Los Angeles area. Each site was manned by the five-man instructional team composed of one teacher, one teacher-counselor, and three aides. The team developed its own working relationship within

certain guidelines.

1. Each person was considered to have individual strengths and abilities that made him an equal with the other team members.
2. In role function, teachers gave direction in curriculum planning and instructional methods. Tutorial aides functioned both as tutors on a one-to-one basis, and as teachers in small groups. The aides also functioned as a provided link between the instructional team and the new careerist. The team met daily for staff meetings regarding planning, discussion of problems and evaluation.

In assigning individuals to the team, the following rationale was used: home proximity to instructional site; ethnic mixture; varied strengths and experiences; previous positive associations with groups similar to the student population; spanish language background; and previous success as teacher of similar students.

The team concept provided a great deal of instructional flexibility in meeting student needs:

1. by providing a low teacher/student ratio with a planned average of 10.1;
2. by making possible small group instruction that enabled the adult student to accept his own educational deficiencies and still retain his self-respect;
3. by providing a broad range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds in the instructional staff to help students expand their ability to cope with varied types of persons; and
4. by allowing each team member to utilize his teaching strength.

Teacher-Counselor Duty Statement

1. Administer necessary tests.
2. Conduct in-service training.
3. Assist in program evaluation.
4. Serve as liaison with County and job site supervisors.
5. Order supplies and equipment.
6. Insure that the purposes of the University of California, and the Graduate School of Education, are carried out in accordance with guidelines provided by the Director of the Adult Basic Education Institute.

Teacher Duty Statement

1. Plan, under supervision of the credentialled teacher-counselor with other members of the teaching team, the general instruction program.
2. Work with tutorial aide to develop specific instructional objectives and activities.
3. Responsible for direction, daily guidance and instructional work of aides.
4. Make recommendations for ordering instructional supplies.
5. Assist teacher-counselor in evaluation of students.
6. Attend and participate in staff meetings.
7. Keep accurate records of enrollees daily attendance and report to office clerk daily.
8. Prepare and complete evaluative reports as required for this project.
9. Attend and participate in pre-service, in-service and post-service training sessions as required by the teacher-counselor.
10. All duties not listed but prescribed to implement an excellent teaching and learning situation.

Testing and Remedial Aide

1. Assist in planning the daily instructional program.
2. Participate in and attend all required meetings.
3. Assist in preparation of innovative educational materials and other materials as needed.
4. Responsible for gathering and compiling resource materials under the direction of the teacher.
5. Assist in the administration and scoring of tests.
6. Assist and train students in techniques relevant to standardized tests.
7. Assist teacher-counselor in establishing communication with enrollees and in providing a positive atmosphere conducive to the learning process.
8. Follow through in assisting the teacher-counselor to solve or alleviate problems of the enrollees as these problems occur throughout the length of the program.

Attendance Clerk

1. Keep records of attendance of students. Will keep track of student registration and devise a system of recording student attendance on a continuing basis.
2. Keep track of hours involving staff on a continuing basis.
3. Devise a system of control regarding supplies for the program, and re-order in advance on a continuing basis.

Testing

Testing of all students took place during the beginning week of classes to determine the educational level of each student. The students were again tested at the end of the instructional period. The instrument selected for testing was the ABLE (Adult Basic Learning Examination). A pre- and post-attitudinal survey was also administered to determine changes in attitude and motivation. The instrument used for the attitudinal survey was the Firo B. In addition, each student was interviewed at least twice during the course of the program by each member of the instructional staff.

Counseling

Intensive individual counseling was provided throughout the program to help the student assess his own needs and progress, to develop a better understanding of the "world of work" and to attempt to modify negative social attitudes and to provide guidance toward his educational goals. This counseling was given by the entire staff, but with the primary responsibility on the teacher-counselor.

In-service Training

All instructional personnel were required to attend in-service workshops. These training sessions were scheduled on various Fridays when the students were not present. The following objectives and areas were covered:

1. Acquainting the teams with the New Careers concept.
2. Orientation to the type of students in the program.
3. Development of team identification and organization.
4. Use of innovative methods and curriculum.
5. Translation of educational goals into behavioral objectives.

Evaluation

The final program evaluation and report on achievement was conducted by Mr. Howard N. Lindskoog, Academic Coordinator, Adult Basic Education Institute.

The evaluation of the program considers the following critical areas:

1. Achievement progress
2. Attitudinal survey and interviews
3. Patterns of attendance
4. Analysis of counseling time
5. Samples of innovative materials
6. Change in behavior as related to task performance

DATA ANALYSIS - EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

The Adult Basic Learning Examination (ABLE) is a battery of tests designed to measure the level of educational achievement among adults. The ABLE does not give a total achievement score, but generates scores for each of six sub-tests, Vocabulary, Reading, Spelling, Computation, Problem Solving, and Total Arithmetic. Level I is designed to measure grades 1 through 6, with greatest reliability at grades 1 through 4. Level II is designed to measure grades 1 through 9, with greatest reliability at grades 5 through 8.

The Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency representative indicated that the achievement level of the trainees was below the fifth grade level. On this basis, Level I of the ABLE was chosen for the pre-test. However, an analysis of the pre-test scores showed that many of the trainees were actually above the sixth grade level. As a consequence, the ABLE Level II was chosen for the post-testing with a few exceptions in which the instructors felt that the trainee was not ready for the higher level test. At this point it might be asked how E.Y.O.A. arrived at such a faulty assessment of the trainee's achievement level?

A total of forty-four trainees were pre-tested. Of these, twenty-one did not finish the program and for whom we do not have post-tests. Some of these trainees left the Kennedy-Javits program to take other jobs, either with the Los Angeles County Road Department or with private contractors.

Twenty-three trainees completed the educational program and for whom we have both pre- and post-tests. A cautious evaluation of the over-all results from the ABLE indicate a successful program. Several factors inhibited greater gains than were recorded. First, many of the trainees were irregular in attendance. Second, change of class locations made it difficult for some trainees to get to the new location. Third, during the first nine weeks of the program,

there was a small but steady change in the composition of the trainees as new members entered the program and others dropped out. Fourth, due to the starting of public school in September, one member of the instructional team had to be replaced for the last four weeks of the program.

Choice of grade level as a criterion of program success leads us to look at entry level of trainees as indicated by pre- and post-program levels, and differences between the two. These mean differences are then looked at in terms of the extent of grade level advance, differences between trainees who received twelve weeks instruction and those who received five weeks, and the differences between classes.

An examination of Table 1, reveals a wide range of achievement on the part of trainees when entering the program. More than one-half came into the program over the fifth grade level on five of the six sub-tests.

<u>Over 5.0 pre-test grade level</u>	<u>Voc.</u>	<u>Read.</u>	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Comp.</u> A	<u>Prob.</u> B	<u>Total</u>
	63.6%	65.9%	29.6%	50.0%	68.2%	61.4%
<u>Under 3.0 grade level</u>	13.6	22.7	38.7	6.8	13.6	6.8
<u>Mode</u>	6.+	6.+	1.0	5.0	6.+	6.+

By comparison, it may be observed that approximately 45% tested out at grade levels beyond 6.0 on 5 of the 6 sub-tests at the close of the program.

<u>Over 6.0 post- test grade level</u>	<u>Voc.</u>	<u>Read.</u>	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Comp.</u>	<u>Prob.</u>	<u>Total</u>
	43.4%	60.8%	34.7%	47.8%	47.8%	47.7%
<u>Under 3.0 grade level</u>	8.7	8.6	30.4	4.3	4.3	0
<u>Mode</u>	9.+	9.+	1.0, 9.+	6.0, 6.9	4.0, 6.0, 9.0	6.0

Although it is not evident in Table 2, 22 of the 23 trainees for whom pre- and post-tests were available made some grade level advance on at least one of the sub-tests.

Table 3 computes the mean gain difference between the South Central class and East Los Angeles class. An examination of the data reveals that the E.L.A. class came into the program at a slightly higher level than the South Central class. The mean differences are as follows:

Pre-test differences
in favor of ELA

<u>Vocabulary</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Computation</u>	<u>Problem Solving</u>	<u>Total Arithmetic</u>
+ .5	+ .3	+ .3	+ .7	+1.1	+1.1

Post-test
Differences

<u>Vocabulary</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Computation</u>	<u>Problem Solving</u>	<u>Total Arithmetic</u>
+ .2	+ .3	+ .1	+ .3	+ .2	+ .2

As can be seen (Table 3), the South Central class made slightly more total gain than did the E.L.A. class on five of the six sub-tests.

For the total group, all sub-tests showed positive improvement ranging from +.9 to +1.9 grade levels. The greatest over-all improvement level was in math, almost 1 grade level.

Robert C. Droegge, Consulting Psychologist for the U.S. Employment Service, in a paper prepared for the Workshop to Increase and to Improve University Teacher Training Programs in Adult Basic Education, 1969, submitted information on studies conducted by the U.S.E.S.

U.S.E.S. Studies

1. Pennsylvania: 40 cases. Average years of education 10.7

Training up to 12 weeks. Average gain in tested achievement, .4 grade equivalents.

2. Colorado: 59 cases. Average years of education 7.7 Training up to 52 weeks

Average gain in tested achievement, 1.3 grade equivalents.

3. Michigan: 61 cases. Average years of education, 5.3. Training extended over 10 weeks. Average gain in tested achievement .6 grade equivalents.
4. Ohio: 38 cases. Average years of education 7.5 Training up to 20 weeks. Average gain in tested achievement, .4 grade equivalents.
5. Louisiana: 50 cases. Average years of education, 8.2. Training 14 weeks. Average gain in tested achievement .6 grade equivalents.

In three of the studies, the length of the training program was comparable to the K-J program. Average gain in the USES programs appear somewhat less than those observed in Table 3. In the two USES studies that involved longer training (20 weeks and 52 weeks) the average gains were not significantly different from this program

Table 4 computes the mean gain difference between those trainees who were in the program twelve weeks with those who were in the program five weeks. Examination of the pre-test levels shows a consistently higher mean upon entering the program for the twelve-week trainees than for the five-week trainees. No data is available to explain this difference, but it may suggest that incoming trainees are "more" disadvantaged than the original group. This second group of trainees (5-week) made greater advances in grade level change than did the first (12-week) group although they did not match the post-test level of group 1. There are two possible explanations. First, it took the instructional team some time to "shake down" and that by the time the second group entered the program the team had developed a greater degree of effectiveness. Second, research seems to indicate that rates of achievement change forms a bell-shaped curve. That is, the rate of change accelerates from level 1.0 to about 5.0 and then levels off at about level 7.0 when the learning task becomes more difficult.

TABLE 1. Program Success as Measured by Grade Level

Grade Level	Vocabulary		Reading		Spelling		Part A Computation		Part B Problem Solving		Total Arithmetic	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Pre-test Grade</u>												
<u>Level Distribution</u>												
Under 1.0	0		0		1	2.3	0		2	4.5	0	
1.0 - 1.9	2	4.5	8	18.2	12	27.3	0		0		0	
2.0 - 2.9	4	9.1	2	4.5	4	9.1	3	6.8	4	9.1	3	6.8
3.0 - 3.9	5	11.4	1	2.3	4	9.1	6	13.6	2	4.5	5	11.4
4.0 - 4.9	4	9.1	2	4.5	7	15.9	13	29.5	4	9.1	7	15.9
5.0 - 5.9	7	15.9	2	4.5	4	9.1	14	31.8	4	9.1	9	20.5
6.0 - 6+	21	47.7	27	61.4	9	20.5	8	18.2	26	59.1	18	40.9
No data	1	2.3	2	4.5	3	6.8	0		2	4.5	2	4.5
Total	44	100.0	44	100.0	44	100.0	44	100.0	44	100.0	44	100.0
Mean	5.0		4.4		3.7		4.8		5.0		5.0	
Median	5.5		6.1		4.3		4.9		6.0		5.6	
Range	1.6-6+		1.0-6+		0 - 6+		2.3-6+		2.5-6+		2.4-6+	

TABLE 1. Continued

Grade Level	Vocabulary	Reading	Spelling	Part A Computation	Part B Problem Solving	Total Arithmetic
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Post-test Grade Level Distribution						
Under 1.0	0		2	8.7	0	0
1.0 - 1.9	0	4.3	5	21.7	0	0
2.0 - 2.9	2	8.7	0	4.3	1	4.3
3.0 - 3.9	3	13.0	1	4.3	2	8.7
4.0 - 4.9	2	8.7	1	4.3	4	17.4
5.0 - 5.9	2	8.7	3	13.0	1	4.3
6.0 - 6.9	1	4.3	3	13.0	4	17.4
7.0 - 7.9	1	4.3	0		3	13.0
8.0 - 8.9	0		0		2	8.7
9.0 - 9+	8	34.8	5	21.7	2	8.7
No data	4	17.4	3	13.0	4	17.4
Total	23	100.0	23	100.0	23	100.0
Mean	6.3		4.7		5.9	5.9
Median	6.2		5.6		6.5	6.1
Range	2.3-9+		0-9+		2.1-9+	3.3-8.5

TABLE 2

Grade Level	Part A				Part B			
	Vocabulary	Reading	Spelling	Computation	Problem Solving	Total	Arithmetic	
<u>Direction of Grade Level Change</u>	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Advanced	13	56.5	19	82.6	14	60.9	17	73.9
Declined	6	26.1	0	0	5	21.7	2	8.7
No Change or no score	4	17.4	4	17.4	4	17.4	4	17.4
Total	23	100.0	23	100.0	23	100.0	23	100.0
							11	47.8
							3	13.0
							9	39.1
							23	100.0
<u>Extent of Grade Level Advance</u>	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Under 1.0	0		1	5.3	6	42.9	9	52.9
1.0 - 1.9	4	30.8	7	36.8	3	21.4	6	35.3
2.0 - 2.9	0		2	10.5	0		2	11.8
3.0 - 3.9	8	61.5	9	47.4	5	35.7	0	
4.0 - 4.9	1	7.7	0		0		0	
5.0 - 5.9	0		0		0		0	
Total	13	100.0	19	100.0	14	100.0	17	100.0
							11	100.0
							2	18.2
							6	54.5
							2	18.2
							1	9.1
							0	
							0	

TABLE 3. Differences Between the South Central Class and the East Los Angeles Class

	Pre-test	Post-test	Difference
VOCABULARY			
South Central (13 trainees)	4.7*	6.2	+1.5
East Los Angeles (10 trainees)	5.3	6.4	+1.1
Total Group	5.0	6.3	+1.3
READING			
South Central	4.3	6.2	+1.9
East L.A.	4.6	6.5	+1.9
Total Group	4.4	6.3	+1.9
SPELLING			
South Central	3.6	4.7	+1.1
East L.A.	3.9	4.8	+ .9
Total Group	3.7	4.7	+1.0
PART A - COMPUTATION			
South Central	4.5	5.5	+1.0
East L.A.	5.2	5.8	+ .6
Total Group	4.8	5.7	+ .9
PART B - PROBLEM SOLVING			
South Central	4.5	5.8	+1.3
East L.A.	5.6	6.0	+ .4
Total Group	5.0	5.9	+ .9
TOTAL ARITHMETIC			
South Central	4.5	5.8	+1.3
East L.A.	5.6	6.0	+ .4
Total Group	5.0	5.9	+ .9

* Mean

TABLE 4. Differences Between Trainees who Received Twelve Weeks of Instruction and Trainees who Received Five Weeks of Instruction

	Pre-test	Post-test	Difference
VOCABULARY			
12 weeks (17 trainees)	5.45*	6.72	+1.27
5 weeks (6 trainees)	3.56	5.06	+1.50
READING			
12 weeks	4.91	6.97	+2.06
5 weeks	2.52	4.66	+2.14
SPELLING			
12 weeks	4.18	5.22	+1.04
5 weeks	2.0	3.18	+1.18
PART A - COMPUTATION			
12 weeks	5.08	5.84	+ .76
5 weeks	4.0	5.13	+1.13
PART B - PROBLEM SOLVING			
12 weeks	5.54	5.85	+ .31
5 weeks	4.02	5.98	+1.96
TOTAL ARITHMETIC			
12 weeks	5.28	6.05	+ .77
5 weeks	3.87	5.36	+1.49

* Mean

II DATA ANALYSIS - ATTITUDINAL CHANGES

Attitudinal concepts are difficult to assess because of the absence of hard data. However, enough subjective data has been gathered to provide some indicators. This data was obtained through the use of three techniques: first, the reports by the teacher-counselor of counseling sessions with the trainees; second, oral interviews with the trainees by the evaluator; and third, an assessment of sound and video tapes made during class sessions.

A. Counselor Interviews with Trainees

The counselor was unable to arrange more than one counseling session with each of the trainees due to pressure of serving as both counselor - teacher and head of the instructional team. As a result, the counseling sessions reported here reflect only the attitudinal status of the trainees during the initial stages of the program. These counseling reports have been analyzed in terms of the following factors:

- potential ability as assessed by the counselor;
- trainee attitudes toward self;
- trainee attitudes toward work;
- trainee attitudes toward life;
- and trainee needs as seen by the counselor.

The counselor rated approximately 80% of the trainees as having high ability and potential for academic improvement. The others were judged to be average or low in potential. The trainees, however, did not appear to hold this same view of themselves, no doubt because they were unable to differentiate their own potential from actual experiences of failure. The most prevalent self-attitude was that of neutrality, expressed in terms of uncertainty, lack of

confidence, and verbalized defensiveness, (See Table 5) c. 40% of the trainees expressing their self-attitude in those terms. The second highest ranking (c.35%) on self-attitude were categorized as positive. These expressions ranged from "willingness to try" to "I can do it if I have the chance". Third, c. 25% expressed a definite negative self-attitude ranging from expressions of discouragement and defeat to verbalized bitterness and complete failure.

Attitudes toward work were categorized as positive, neutral, or negative. Again the prevailing attitude (c.44%) was neutral in tone. These trainees indicated a passive attitude toward work, living for the moment, and tended to see work as a matter of survival. The second highest expression of attitude toward work was negative (c.33%). This was expressed in terms of being "kept down" by being given degrading kinds of work, and that their age, race, and previous police records were too much of a handicap to overcome. Only c.22% indicated a positive toward work, expressed as "this is my first real job", "the work is challenging", and "trying to do my best".

General attitudes toward life were markedly negative. The trainees appear to be oriented to the "now", survival being the prime motive for life. They also exhibit a passive and dependent attitude feeling that they have little or no control over their own destiny. Discouragement by past failure appears to have generated a distrust of the world.

Finally, the counselor derived from the interviews a statement of the trainee-needs as he interpreted them.

The trainees need educational counseling to prepare them to learn even before entering the program.

The trainees need intensive personal counseling to restore their low self-image.

The trainees need guidance and counseling to develop normative social behavior that will enhance rather than reduce job potential.

The trainees need vocational training beyond the limits of the K-J program to give them increased job alternatives and enlarge their feelings of personal adequacy.

TABLE 5

Counselor Interviews *

Ability	Per cent **
high	82
average	6
low	12
Attitude Toward Self	
Positive (willing to try)	35
Neutral (lack of confidence, uncertain)	40
Negative (defeated, bitter)	25
Attitude Toward Work	
Positive (finds work a challenge)	22
Neutral (passive, survival)	44
Negative (discouraged, being 'kept down')	33
Attitude Toward Life	
Positive (no verbalization of positive attitude)	10
Neutral (spectator not participant)	10
Negative (distrustful, existence as a goal)	80

* Ratings derived from indicators as observed by interviewer of participant's self-concepts in one-to-one interviews.

**Percentages should be viewed as gross data.

B. Interviews by Evaluator

A general checklist of items was used for interviewing ten trainees. This checklist was used as a guide line for interviewing only, not as a questionnaire. It was designed to get at those changes which may have taken place in the men during the instructional period. The material generated appears to fall into the following broad categories:

1. Personal changes and involvement
2. Attitudes toward and relationship with the instructional team
3. Some assessment of the trainees feeling about the value of instruction received
4. Criticisms of the program
5. Recommendations

Personal Changes

Items 1 and 2 on the checklist (See Table 6) were used to elicit responses of a personal nature, that is, about their own personal feelings and attitudes. There was a marked reluctance to express a positive expectation of improvement that would effect job potential. Two reasons were cited for this. First, the East Los Angeles interviewees tended to feel they were too old to get a better job, even if they did increase their educational level. Second, the South Central interviewees cited past police records as a reason for not being too hopeful. They felt that good jobs were simply not available to them, no matter how much education they could get. Only one trainee was willing to express confidence in his ability to get a better job.

At the same time, five of the interviewees indicated that some personal change had taken place during the instructional program. Some of these comments are as follows:

"I feel better about myself";

"I was really discouraged when I started the program but now I feel that I want to continue in school";

"I have a new outlook on life and a sense of accomplishment. I think that all of the men have a new sense of pride in themselves." ;

"I am now able to help my children with their school work";

"I have a new outlook toward life and to continue to study";

Of the ten men interviewed, five indicated that they either are now or are going to enroll in public adult school classes.

Instructional team

The attitudes expressed about the team were very positive. No negative feelings were expressed. They indicated that all of the team members had freely given individual help to them when they needed it. There was no indication that the trainees identified any more closely with their own ethnic representative on the instructional team. More important than ethnic identification was that of life-style. They felt that every member of the team knew what life was like in the ghetto and were understanding of their problems. They also felt that the team was well prepared in subject matter, and provided a high level of motivation. The only criticism was that sometimes team members were late in arriving on the site to begin teaching.

Value of Instruction

Those interviewed all agreed that the instruction received from the team was very valuable. Two men indicated that they felt they were already at a high achievement level and did not need the training. These same two men had several things in common. They both felt that they were above the average in ability; they were quite hostile and antagonistic about the entire K-J program; they saw themselves as leaders with the men and appeared anxious about losing their position if they advanced too far; they both related the instruction as very worthwhile for the other men. Both of these men indicated they had no plans for further education.

Criticisms

Several mild criticisms were voiced, but in each case the instructors were absolved of guilt for it. First, they indicated that the trainees needed more individual help than they received but they felt it was because the teachers had too much to do and not because they were remiss in their responsibility. Second, it was suggested by one person that the instruction missed the complete non-reader and the high achiever, again because the teachers did not have enough time to give everyone as much individual help as needed. Third, one person felt there was not enough material available to use.

The most severe criticism was directed at those trainees who were seen as not interested in education, they only came because they were paid for it, and as a result often disrupted the class and took time that should have been given to instruction.

Recommendations

The men interviewed had a number of suggestions they felt would improve the instructional program

1. Classes should be held for 8 hours, 2 days per week.
2. Classes should be held 5 days per week.
3. Classes should be 3 days a week because it was too long between the Wednesday and Monday class. They tended to forget in the interim period.
4. Use of teaching machines for individual use.
5. Vocational education should be offered.

The interviews with the trainees gave enough subjective indication to place them into three general classifications. First, most of the trainees interviewed appeared to be well motivated. They felt they had received something very beneficial through the classes and regretted that it was finished. Second, there was a smaller group who are still fearful of breaking out of the old patterns of behavior, who still feel defeated and the acceptance of hope is unrealistic. Third, a few felt they had something to lose if they or their

buddies should gain too much education. These men saw themselves as something of leaders with the others and were threatened by the possibility of losing that position.

In comparing the counselor interviews and evaluator interviews, there is a shift from indecision to a more positive expression about self and hopefulness for the future.

TABLE 6

TRAINEE ATTITUDE SURVEY *

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
1. Do you think you are going to improve in English and math skills which will help you get a better job?	1	7	2
2. Identify some personal change that has taken place since you have been in class.	5	2	3
3. Do you think the teachers are:			
1) On time?	1	4	5
2) Well prepared in subject matter?	10	0	0
3) Courteous ?	10	0	0
4) Understanding about life?	10	0	0
5) Motivating you to learn?	8	2	0
4. Which teacher have you identified with most closely? (In each case more than one teacher was so identified.)			
5. Plans for further education.	5	3	2
6. How would you rate the instruction you have received?			
Excellent	-1		
Worthwhile	-9		
Okay	-0		
Some value	-0		
Waste of time	-0		
7. Other significant data:			
(See Criticisms and Recommendations)			

* Only those trainees interviewed at the beginning of the program were asked question #1.

C. Assessment of Audio Tapes made in Class

Extensive use was made of the tape recorder in class by the instructional team. A conservative estimate indicates approximately 50% of classroom time (not individual time) was devoted to use of the tape recorder. Primarily it was used for teaching the interrelated communication skills of speaking, writing, and vocabulary building. Two procedures were developed by the team.

First, in a non-structured setting, the trainees were encouraged to 'just talk', to express their thoughts about life in general. The tape was then played back to the trainee requiring him to evaluate how he organized his thoughts, how well he said what he meant to say, mistakes in grammar, and pronunciation. He was then asked to write a paper recapitulating what was said on the tape and then analyze the two performances with the instructors help.

Second, in a more structured situation, the trainee read several paragraphs from a magazine or newspaper. He then discussed his performance with the instructor in terms of oral clarity, and pronunciation. Following this, the trainee copied the same paragraphs onto his own paper. After reading his copy, he was then asked to write the same material when dictated to him by the instructional aide. Finally, he was asked to write the material from memory and explain the content in his own words.

Inherent in this process is a taxonomy of learning and skills levels. Progressively, the trainee moved through the taxonomy from psycho-motor responses to verbal discriminations, and the more complex responses such as conceptualizing and critical thinking.

A number of factors are discernible in the tapes.

1) A high level of anxiety on the part of the trainees. This anxiety is partially reduced by a great deal of verbalizing about sex, and general 'gaming' each other.

2) The trainees communicate well with each other but have great difficulty communicating with those outside their system. This was most noticeable in the South Central group.

3) The U.S. South is a similar reference point for the Negro trainees as is Mexico for the Mexican-American trainees.

4) The trainees were quite naive about community, government, and life in general.

5) To the South Central group, education was thought of in terms of cooperation among Negroes, and voting for governmental officials who would be sympathetic.

6) To the E.L.A. group, education appeared to mean a better job, to live better, and have more tangible goods.

On the whole, use of the tape recorder appears to have been a good vehicle for the trainees to explore their own feelings and attitudes about life, family, community, and job. In other words, it had therapeutic value. It was also a very excellent teaching device in that the trainee and the instructor were able to cooperate together in helping to solve some of the trainee's learning problems.

Perhaps the one weakness was in the failure to lead the trainees to explore alternatives of goal-seeking behavior.

III DATA ANALYSIS - WORK STYLES

A. Interviews with Supervisors of Trainees

Four areas of concern were explored with the supervisors:

1. work attendance
2. on-the-job behavior
3. attitudes of supervisors toward trainees
4. problems as seen by the supervisors

Work Attendance

The supervisors expressed concern about two problems in particular. First, they indicated that some of the trainees tended not to return to work after classes were over. When they did return, it was oftne late. The effect was that the supervisors lost not just the five hours of work while the trainees were in class, but the whole day. They did feel, however, that later in the program some improvement in this area was noticed.

A second problem was that when a trainee skipped a day of work it tended to be a work day rather than a school day. They indicated that attendance has been a recurring problem, but it was now aggravated in that the day of work a trainee lost was in addition to the work lost while he was in class.

On the whole, the supervisors felt that no real change had taken place in the work attendance as a result of the trainees educational experience. They tended to place the trainees in one of two groups:

1) the dependable man who attended class, was always at work, and was productive while at work;

2) they classified the second group as "undependable", not responsive or receptive to education, or good work habits, and they could see no real change in this group of men.

On-the-Job Behavior

Again, the supervisors indicated that they could see no real change in terms of on-the-job behavior or productivity over the life of the educational program. They did offer the warning that it was not possible to generalize for the whole group, in that every man was different and responds differently. They generally agreed that the lack of some positive incentive, like better salary, was the most inhibiting factor for the development of better work habits. They felt that increased educational achievement alone cannot provide such incentive.

Supervisor Attitudes

The supervisor felt that the \$2.00 an hour being paid the trainees is "good money", and that they are actually better off "than they have ever been". They appear to have a generalized attitude, in spite of saying that no generalization could be made, that the men are not really interested in the job. They felt that the school is so easy that they would go to class and not to work. In other words, the supervisors appear to look on the educational component of the Kennedy-Javits program as an escape from work and not contributing positively either to the road department or to themselves as individuals.

Problems

The problems as revealed by the supervisors revolved around two areas: first, the supervisors vis-a-vis the trainees, and second, the supervisors in particular and the County Road Department in general vis-a-vis E.Y.O.A.

In relation to the men, they recognized that the trainees have numerous personal problems, such as: transportation--many of the men have no cars or drivers licenses; the trainees are "locked in" to the K-J program because of medical, educational, and other reasons; the trainees have to compete with better qualified men for County positions and there is no way to give them enough credit for their K-J experience to make up for it; the men have multiple problems

and need individual help rather than as a group, and their needs are not limited to education; drinking is the number one problem.

In relation to E.Y.O.A. it was quite evident that some of the negative attitudes expressed toward the educational program stem from some conflict with the CEP center. It suggests that considerable work needs to be done in this area both by the County and E.Y.O.A. The following expressions of dissatisfaction are indicative of their feelings:

there are too many fingers in the pie--it would be better if the men were responsible only to one agency;

the men manipulate the County and CEP against each other, and the supervisors are caught in the middle.

B. Attendance

The adult basic education component of the Kennedy-Javits program began the week of June 23, 1969 with pre-testing of all trainees. The trainees were divided into two groups, one in East Los Angeles meeting Tuesday and Thursday in the Soto Street Elementary School, the other in South Central Los Angeles meeting on Monday and Wednesday in the Grape Street Elementary School. Unfortunately, when public school opened in September, both classes had to be moved for the final four weeks. The classes then met on their respective days in Central Los Angeles at the Family of Man Institute. This change was disruptive of attendance even though the facilities were very adequate.

It should be noted that attendance figures are not reflected by the pre- and post-test figures. A total of forty-four trainees were pre-tested, some coming into the program as late as August 26. At the close of the program, only twenty-three trainees showed up for post-testing. Actual attendance varies from these figures.

There were forty-eight trainees enrolled in the K-J educational program, twenty in the E.L.A. class and twenty-eight in the South Central class. Attendance for the total group averaged 72.1% for the entire 15 weeks. The East Los Angeles class, with a smaller enrollment and average attendance had a higher percentage of attendance at 80%. The South Central class averaged slightly over 64%. The pattern was not entirely consistent as an analysis of Table 7 indicates. The E.L.A. class ranged from a high of 100% attendance to a low of 40%. At no time did the South Central class have 100% attendance, and at no time did it fall below 50%. As previously indicated, attendance dropped appreciably after September 15 following the move to the new location.

An examination of the attendance of each trainee reveals that only one trainee attended 100% of all classes. On the whole, the E.L.A. class was the most consistent in attendance. Almost half of those trainees attended 90% of the scheduled classes and 80% of the trainees attended more than half the time. No trainee from the South Central class attended all sessions, and just over 50% attended more than half the time. The indication is that the E.L.A. class largely Mexican, were more amenable to the regular discipline of the classroom.

TABLE 7 Enrollment and Attendance

<u>Class</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Average Attendance</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
E.L.A.	20	16	80
South Central	28	18	64.3
Total	48	34	72.1

Spread of High and Low Attendance by Class

<u>Class</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>
E.L.A.	20 - 100%	8 - 40%
South Central	22 - 78.5%	15 - 53.6%
Total	42 - 87.5%	23 - 47.9%

Differences in Attendance after September 15 by Class

	<u>Average Attendance</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Attendance up to September 15		
E.L.A.	17	85%
South Central	19.3	69%
Attendance after September 15		
E.L.A.	10.5	52.5%
South Central	16.7	59.6%

Attendance Patterns of Individual Trainees

<u>Class</u>	<u>100% Attendance</u>	<u>90% Attendance</u>	<u>75% Attendance</u>	<u>50% Attendance</u>
E.L.A.	1 - 5%	9 - 45%	13 - 65%	16 - 80%
South Central	0	4 - 14.3%	10 - 35.7%	16 - 57.1%
Total	1 - 2%	13 - 27%	23 - 47.9%	32 - 66.6%

IV DATA ANALYSIS - INSTRUCTIONAL TEAM

A. Class Observations by Evaluator

Observations by the evaluator of the instructional team has provided data for a case illustration of what happened in the classroom. An assessment of this data provides some clues as to the instructional process used, difficulties encountered, and the value of such an approach.

Case Illustration

On this particular day the entire group at one of the sites was involved in a discussion of the quality of life. This discussion took up the better part of two hours. Much of the discussion revolved around ghetto people doing "their thing". While no attempt has been made to record here the actual conversation (tape recording is on file), the following points summarize what was said.

1. Short-run gains rank much higher than deferred gains.
2. Some trainees felt that a person doing "his thing" is expressing a loyalty to himself and his peer community that takes precedence over loyalties to the larger community, even when it comes into conflict with statutory law.
3. If doing "your thing" means exploiting others, "that's alright because you are being exploited by someone else."
4. The need of satisfaction was of paramount importance.
5. Actual money in the pocket is a status symbol.

At various points in the discussion, the instructors confronted the trainees with the implications of their ideas and forced to examine them more carefully. For example, they asked about the consequences of breaking

the law and whether they were happy with it this way. They forced the trainees to examine exploitation in terms of money in the pocket. Were they actually ahead by the time they had to pay off the other man? The instructors also demanded that the trainees look at their behavior in terms of reinforcement of the ghetto and the ecology between the ghetto resident and the ghetto. The hustler on the street goes to the rich for his money but the end result is to keep him in the ghetto and reinforce the ghetto itself.

Instructional Methodology

This discussion was used by the instructors to pinpoint some very real problems and translate basic skills into a useable technology for solving those problems. What is the relationship of job to life? (Reading)

How does individual behavior reinforce the quality of life in the ghetto?
(Reading)

Does \$200 in the hustler's pocket represent as much actual purchasing power as \$100 for the worker on a legitimate job? (Math)

What is the purchasing power in terms of life-values and one's attitude toward himself? (Math)

Difficulties

A number of difficulties were observed by the evaluator in class visits. The instructional team appeared to be somewhat young and lacking in experience to have a well rounded perspective in which to relate educational achievement and life. The team tended to get "swallowed up" by the emotional intensity of the trainees. There were also differing perceptions and expectations. One was content-centered in which trainee feedback was used to alter the methodology. The other was need-centered in which the trainee feedback was used to alter the instructional content. An older, more experienced teacher could have provided a unifying perspective. The addition of the new instructor in the

last four weeks helped in this respect.

Second, in spite of the team's willingness to experiment and be flexible, there were times when they reverted to the traditional approach. This was particularly evident in the math portion of the class schedule. By traditional is meant the teacher doing problems on the blackboard and the students watching and listening. The trainees needed more involvement and more personal attention in working on their own problems. With the teacher at the blackboard it was noticed that the trainees tended to play a passive role and it appeared that learning stopped at that point.

Third, in the discussion portions there was some tendency by the instructors to take over--to force the trainees to think in a pattern already determined by the instructor. When this happened, the instructor had difficulty hearing feedback from the trainees.

Finally, in the group discussions it sometimes turned out to be individual dialogue with the instructor. This was at least partially due to the trainees difficulty in breaking the traditional mode of students speaking to the teacher, even when what they had to say was to the group. But more than that, it was because the team was unable to use the group for both solution of problems and reinforcement of learnings.

Strength of the Team Approach

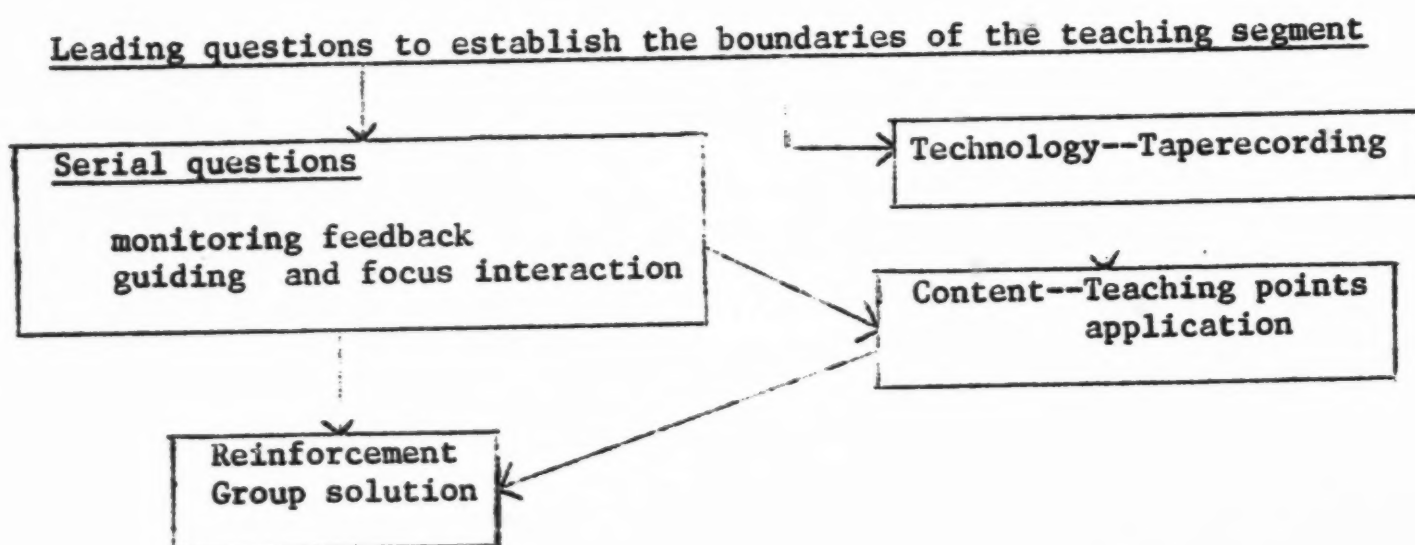
On the whole, the instructional team had a great deal of strength. At least two of the objectives stated in the Proposal Program for Kennedy-Javits Enrollees submitted to E.Y.O.A. were reached: 1) maximum student involvement; 2) correlation between instruction and employment tasks.

Four factors may be delineated as having positive value.

1. The instructional team provided a non-normative structure. That is the team members were viewed as having validity in themselves over and

and above having validity as instructors. Teacher behavior did not follow the traditional concept of "active teacher-passive learner".

2. Teaching/learning was viewed by the team as a process of interaction between instructors and trainees and not as an end in itself. The process may be conceptualized as follows:



3. Total acceptance of the trainees as adults.
4. The team exhibited a great flexibility in dealing with problems as they developed, whether the problem was of a personal or cognitive nature. The instructors appeared to be well prepared to teach, and at the same time the curriculum was not structured to the point of failing to consider the immediate need that arose.

B. Reports by the Instructional Team

(These are the unedited comments of each member of the instructional team.)

C. Harry Phillips, Teacher-Counselor

From the very beginning, the K-J program was beset with various types of threatening problems. It is very significant that in spite of these many problems the instructional team was able to conduct an educational program of the highest relative quality. I am convinced that post-test scores will bear out that the men in this summer's program did make significant educational gains which can be directly attributable to quality instruction.

The agile and humanistic approach of the instructional team coupled with a continuous emphasis on motivation is probably the most outstanding factor which led to the success of the program. Counseling, of course, provided an excellent vehicle for the translation of feelings and desires of the men into meaningful instructional objectives. A good example of this can best be described when during the counseling interview an enrollee pointed out that a great many of the men experienced frustration when confronted with a job application. The counselor was then able to work with other team members during planning periods in developing a significant block of instruction that would deal with the job application. A recommendation was in fact made that Form 57, used in Federal employment, be used as a format for instruction in this area.

In summary, I would like to submit a few recommendations that I feel could have assisted the team in achieving maximum quality in the course of the program.

1. Program coordinator and/or counselor be free from actual classroom instruction.
2. Instruction be conducted for shorter time periods on a more frequent basis.
3. The entire team should be responsible to a single agency.
4. Absolute minimum amounts of commercial instructional materials be purchased in advance of orientation and testing of enrollees.

There are other recommendations that could be made, but it is my feeling that the above four encompass the general areas from which any other suggestions that I might make would stem.

Antonio Bernal, Non-Credentialed Teacher

Since I have had no formal background as a teacher, I have relied a great deal on intuition to define my methodology. I have also relied heavily on electronic aides such as tape and television because I have found this useful in encouraging the student to express himself. I feel that very little learning can take place until the student is aware of his deficiencies and has enough trust in the instructor to reveal them. Thus the first part of the instructional term was taken up with activities designed to allow the student to express himself in an effective way. The advantage of this method is that the timid student becomes aware of the fact that he may have unsuspected strengths in his ability to express himself, and the arrogant student (who might learn very little because he feels he knows the material) may discover that he is in fact less able to communicate.

My reason for staying away from texts as much as possible is that almost all instructional text books are boring. They rely too heavily on the high motivation of the student, and apparently the authors feel that a lot of pretty colors or type faces will compensate for the sterility of the material. For this reason I have preferred to use material that might be popular enough to appeal to an adult student with low motivation and who indeed may have a resistance to learning in the first place. For this reason I took out articles from popular magazines (such as "Boony" and "Life") at random and distributed them to the class. The student himself chose the article he wanted to read. After he had read at least most of the article, he was instructed to read several paragraphs into the tape recorder. Then I pointed out pronunciations which were at variance with standard English by marking the words on the article at the same time the student listened to the playback. After a brief discussion of his errors in reading the student was then instructed to go back to his desk and copy the material to familiarize himself with it. When he had done this, an aide dictated the material, and the student wrote it again without looking at the article. This gave him a chance to contrast the original article with his version which would usually include some mistakes. Then he was instructed to rewrite the article explaining the content in his own words. At this point, the more advanced student could write anything he wished on the subject, while the less advanced would summarize the material in a few words to show that he understood the point of the paragraphs involved. The papers are then collected and corrected for the next class session. Then the errors in grammar, spelling, syntax, etc., were explained in a class presentation.

The advantages of this method were as follows:

1. The student was able to compare his oral performance with that of other class members on a subjective basis.
2. The student was able to compare with what he did first that which he did afterwards, using the same material. He was able to write a "perfect" paper by copying, and then was allowed to make his own mistakes in writing the dictation.
3. The student was forced to prove that he understood what he had read while at the same time feel secure in using his own words.
4. The material was reinforced by being brought up several days later, and the cognitive explanations were tailored to specific errors which had originated with the class rather than supplied as general knowledge.

1. Because each article was different, the process was time consuming and required participation by the aides in order to work. If aides were not present, many students would have been neglected for long periods of time.
2. The teacher had to be "on" every minute, which was exhausting.

Other approaches that I had used were more conventional. For example, I would prepare material cut of a grammar synthesis on pronouns, covering all possible examples. Then the material was presented in the standard fashion, except that I would avoid using the standard jargon. Instead I put a sentence on the board and asked "What if I wanted to use a word in place of Jonn?". Then either the student or I would supply the answer, and we would be well into the discussion. These segments were spotted through the semester until all the basic elements of grammar had been covered, but the student was largely unaware that he had been studying grammar. I felt it was important not to use a text book in this case for the reasons outlined above. There was something forbidding and boring about most of them. Instead, the points were made as part of a conversation drawn from the student's experience and vocabulary. One disadvantage was that this meant more work for the teacher. This could have been taken a step further and more sentences could have been written by the student while the aide helped with individual problems.

A third approach was similar to the previous one, but was concerned with vocabulary. I would prepare ahead of time, a group of words (approximately twenty) which had some association, either as synonyms or antonyms. Then I would put them on the board while soliciting the participation and suggestions of the class. This meant that some of the words were their own and some were unfamiliar. I had explained to the students that they were adults and that I had no intention of giving them material suitable for children, so I deliberately incorporated such words as "comprehensive", "coherent", "abstraction", "relevant", etc., which were interspersed with the student's normal vocabulary. Incidentally, there was no censorship, and if the student wished to include words normally considered impolite, these were included. After the words were thoroughly discussed as to meaning, etymology, and composition (that is, prefixes, roots, and suffixes were pointed out), the students were asked to write sentences using these words. Again the more advanced student was at liberty to write complex sentences, while the less advanced student (some of them were practically illiterate) would write only, "I am relevant", not sure of what that meant. However, it was felt that he was getting exposure that he would not otherwise get, and the satisfaction of knowing that the sentence with the big word in it was correct. Of course, if he wrote "I am abstraction", the mistake was pointed out without lessening his interest or self-esteem.

A fourth approach was less structured than any of the others, but it again used the tape recorder. This simply consisted of arranging all the chairs in a circle with the tape recorder in the middle. An aide manipulated the tape recorder while the teacher sat among the students, and if was successful, directed the conversation without appearing to do so. The subjects introduced as general themes about which it was easy to express an opinion, for example, life, death, environmental circumstances and mores. The purpose of this exercise was twofold. First, to encourage the student to express himself, to provide feedback, and to think creatively. The student was made aware by the playback, of how he organized

his thoughts and what his mistakes in grammar and pronunciation were. This exercise could have been carried further with a written transcript of the material so that the student could analyze and correct his mode of expression. This material could have been used as a nucleus of a paper which by definition was interesting to the student since the material had originated within the group.

The enrollee population fluctuated to the extent that much time was wasted and little progress could be made with some students. While efforts were made to remain flexible in presentation of curricula, a continuum of instruction had to have its own logical development, and a new student brought in during the tenth week of instruction was too far removed from the antecedents to fit in easily. Too much time would have had to been taken from the current presentations to assimilate him effectively. By the same token, a student who was progressing from the beginning who suddenly dropped out (for reasons beyond his control, in most cases) was not able to consummate the preparatory work that he had engaged in prior to his dropping out. It was suggested that some effort be made in the structure of the program to follow through on students who had come into it too recently to benefit from the on-going program, and to follow through on students who had dropped out of the existing program and wasted the time they have spent in school by reverting to old patterns which did not include learning of academic subjects.

A major weakness of this particular program was that the staff members did not have enough time to work with each other prior to the beginning of instruction. There was a great need for objectives and methods to be defined ahead of time. Since this was not possible, much time was wasted in trying to correct misconceptions and in arguing approaches and techniques. The staff exhibited ambivalent feelings toward its own members and in some cases toward the students. While these difficulties were eventually ironed out, the full effectiveness of the program did not begin to be realized until three or four weeks after instruction was started. In-service training sessions were helpful in smoothing out personality conflicts and in providing a forum where the staff could air common problems. The in-service training sessions also provided inputs on theory and technique which was useful to the teaching staff.

Another weakness in the teaching staff itself was that it was too heavily loaded with young or inexperienced teachers. While the young or inexperienced teachers may be very effective in some areas, and indeed were an integral part of this kind of team, there was also a need for a mature hand to lend support and guidance during some of the times when the others were unable to handle situations that inevitably developed. It was important for the team to have a wide range in age and experience so that every exigency could be handled by one or another member as it came up.

The instructional sites were adequate in terms of physical location and composition. However, there were serious drawbacks in this area. Many times the janitors were not present early enough to let the enrollees and teachers into the classroom, with the result that students would leave and come back even later, so that they began instruction after the rest of the class had started. There seemed to be a lack of cooperation between the school system and the contracting agency, with the result that the schools

appeared unresponsive to the needs of the teachers and students. In one - 34 - location the school was situated near a freeway in an industrial area, so that Diesel trucks came charging off several at a time. When this occurred all instruction would cease as no one could be heard. At the other location there were no adult sized facilities. The chairs and tables were intended for kindergarten children, and it was felt that this had a somewhat demoralizing effect on the adult enrollees. The fact that the schools were segregated probably contributed to misunderstandings between one group and the other, each one feeling that the other was getting greater benefits. It was suggested that transportation be provided to effectuate an integrated situation in a dignified, quiet atmosphere, conducive to study and reflection.

The problem of the para-professional seemed to me to be the same as the one surrounding the other members of the teaching staff. Not enough training and time was provided for them to fully understand the nature of their position within the team. Unlike the teaching staff, however, and probably because of their undeveloped ability to exercise responsibility, no para-professional was able to sustain his position all the way through the term. It was felt that supportive activity had to be designed to encourage the para-professional to stay with it, and to give him the tools which he did not have so that he could grow and develop in his job. The class members used in this capacity responded well at times and were able to fulfill their roles intermittently.

The teaching time settled into a pattern of two hours on a given subject, break, then two more hours. This seemed satisfactory to both teachers and students. It was felt that a two hour period was needed to accomplish an effective presentation with enough activity to follow through, while more than that at a time tended to make the student restless and his learning ability dropped sharply.

The greatest single challenge of this program was in preparing material from one day to the next that would prove fresh, challenging and intellectually nourishing. The problem seemed to be that such material simply did not exist. At times the staff was able to prepare material that fulfilled all this criteria. (The method of evaluation being the amount of concentration exhibited by the students). At other times the material could only fulfill two of these at a time. It was found that lower achievement students worked better with rote and drill material, while higher achievement students were able to handle abstractions and more creative kinds of inputs. The use of current popular material was helpful in supplying the relevance necessary to hold the interest of the group.

Lack of coordination between the various agencies resulted in regrettable misunderstandings which were detrimental to the program. Such problems seemed to be inherent in bureaucratic organization. It was felt that a conscious effort needed to be made by the participating agencies in responding to the needs of the classroom if the program was to be a success. It was also felt that the root of the problem was that all manner of policy was set at the upper levels and handed down as a fait accompli without much regard for the real day-to-day needs which had to be dealt with in order for the program to function. An example of this was the problems the students had in getting to school without adequate transportation. While agency representatives appeared on the scene from time to time, nothing was done about it until the students took matters into their own

nands. Much time was taken away from instruction in simply trying to - 35 - communicate with the agency in question. It was strongly suggested that all participating agencies follow the lead of ABE and allow the students themselves to provide direct inputs without the filter of intermediaries. Thus the student could act as a bond between agencies and further help to strengthen their intercooperation.

It was felt that the key to the program's success was the emphasis that ABE placed in treating the enrollee as an adult with unlimited potential. Within the classroom situation efforts were made to treat the student as a person whose opinion mattered, who had something to contribute. He was not always treated as simply an ignorant person who had a lot to learn if he just behaved in a particular way. Efforts were also made to allow uncensored ideas to be brought out in the open. No idea was considered too distasteful or ridiculous for consideration. By the same token all ideas were tested as to their validity, and inevitably some were found wanting. The result of this approach was that the student gained new insight into the workings of his mind. It was felt that he gained confidence by exploring his opinions and by finding unsuspected strengths in the process. This instructor did not feel that it was possible to teach anything until the student was willing to learn. The greater his resistance, the greater effort had to be put into breaking down that resistance. Sometimes this was painful to all concerned. Often learning did not take place for a long time. However, if the teacher's efforts were successful, the student was motivated to learn out of sense of trust and loyalty toward the teacher, and new found pride in himself. This process often entailed involvement by teacher and student outside the classroom. The student was considered as a total man whose existence did not start and stop at the classroom door. Often the teacher was challenged as much or more as the student.

V ASSESSMENT

The experience of the two Kennedy-Javits classes indicates a successful program. Both groups made measurable progress. A wide range of instructional materials and techniques were used primarily oriented to the trainees life situations. In twelve weeks (five weeks for some) the trainees gained an overall grade level average of from +.9 to +1.3 on the various sub-tests.

A high percentage of the trainees were judged to have high ability and potential for academic improvement. It may be questioned whether the instructional team was able to exploit that potential to the fullest. The multiple needs of the trainees indicates that an educational experience must be coupled with other services to provide fullest impact. Many of the trainees need intensive personal counseling, financial and budgeting counseling, and to learn "how to learn".

Some positive attitudinal changes were recorded. The level of expectation has been raised, and a general feeling of hopefulness is indicated. Attitudes toward the instructional team were very positive. Even those who were most negative expressed warmth and appreciation for the instructors. Some of the negative reactions encountered were in part due to the fact that the trainees were forced to deal with several administrative units, E.Y.O.A., C.E.P., Los Angeles County Road Department, and U.C.L.A. More effective coordination between these units needs to be implemented in future programs.

On the whole, there were no immediate work-related behavior changes observable. If possible, the trainees and their work supervisors should be interviewed again after three or four months to gain a better perspective on this question.

While the educational program may be considered successful within the limits imposed, it is evident that to meet the needs of such trainees as are in the

K-J program, it is impossible to "just teach". The question is, how far can an educational agency working within budgetary, program, and administrative (policy) limitations go in attempting to solve those that lie outside the educational sub-system. These are:

1. The psychological and emotional needs of the trainees.
2. Their past involvement with the legal authorities and "record".
3. The administrative relationships between E.Y.O.A. and the County of Los Angeles.
4. The requirement of the trainees to serve more than one master.
5. The trainees' relationships with regular county employees.
6. The trainees' lack of understanding of the K-J program and its objectives.

Assuming that the achievement test scores are valid, then there are two basic problems to be addressed in any future program.

1. How can the achievement level (amount of knowledge) be increased in relation to the demands of society-at-large and his own achievement?
2. How can the trainee be taught to relate what he knows to what he does? An important function of any educational program should be to help the student make such an application so that education becomes relevant in terms of behavior change.

VI RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Program Coordinator

The experience of this program indicates the necessity of having a full time coordinator working closely with the instructional team. It took several weeks for the team to "shake down" and become a cohesive unit. In retrospect, the team never did achieve the unified strength developed by the teams in the 1968 C.E.P. program who had such a coordinator. The function of such a coordinator should include at least the following roles:

- 1) Team process observer to help the team cope with its personality inputs and differences of expectation. This is critical to the effectiveness of a team composed of diverse personalities, backgrounds, education, and ethnic cultures.
- 2) To help the members of the team achieve commitment to the team idea generally, and commitment to other team members in particular. Apart from such a commitment, individual members tend to function as separate entities rather than a unified team.
- 3) To help the team develop rapport with the trainees and at the same time keep its objectivity and perspective.
- 4) Assist the team in curriculum planning on a day to day basis.

2. Counselor

Several problems were encountered by requiring the credentialed teacher to also act as counselor. First, it placed severe limits on his time. As a result, he was not able to give more than one counseling session to each trainee. It would appear to be more helpful to the trainees had a counselor been available at all times. Second, it required the teacher-counselor to play two role with each trainee. As counselor he was called on to deal with the problems of which

he himself was a part; i.e., counselee behavior in class.

3. Pre-service Training

Enough lead time should be provided to allow for a minimum of one week pre-service training for the team. This training should include the following objectives:

- 1) Team development and the establishment of roles within the team. The philosophy of the team concept should be made explicit, expectations of team behavior delineated, cohesiveness and commitment to the team developed, and the development of appropriate roles by each team member should have high priority.
- 2) The psychology of adult learning and appropriate methods of application to the curriculum.
- 3) The sociology of the economically poor.
- 4) Establishment of curriculum planning and procedures.
- 5) Development of an adequate feedback mechanism for use by the team to ensure involvement of the trainees in their own learning.

4. In-Service Training

In service training for the team on a regularly scheduled basis should be continued. This provides for the personal growth of the instructors.

5. Instructional Team

The system of including persons of diverse background, racial and cultural, should be continued. This will provide "models" with whom the trainees can identify. Such factors as age, socio-economic background, personal warmth, breadth of experience, and non-judgemental attitudes are crucial in providing such a model.

A P P E N D I X E S

Appendix I

Samples of Written Materials by Trainees

The new school in memory of Bob Kennedy is a good idea of the city school board, and the site that they chose to build the school is very good, too. That means that in the future the Bob Kennedy Elementary School will belong to the people of East Los Angeles.

This school is very necessary in this site of the city because there are many poor people and they need more of these schools because most of the kids who live in this area attend school half a day. Lack of room in these school is the problem. We must get together and ask of the city school board to build more elementary schools instead of spending money in other programs. For example, sending people to reach the moon is a foolish idea.

September 22, 1969

THE CHICANOS OF EL HOYO

These people are poor, in a way, and in another way they are happy. They live on the same level until one gets a steady job, and he can afford better things for his family. Then if he can, he will move from "El Hoyo," and take on more class. He does not want his daughters marrying any of her boyhood chums, because they think they are "low Mex," so they put on airs, and stop talking to their compadres and do not associate with each other any more. So that's why the Chicanos are not united. If one has more than another, he thinks he's better. The majority of the Chicanos are always looking out for themselves.

But a Chicano will always be a Chicano.

September 22, 1969

THE WIFE COMES FIRST

I think the wife comes first. My wife is good to me and to my children. I will take care of her for everything, and God will take care of me and my children. If any man is taking care of your wife and children, I think it is well to get a divorce, and your children will not call the other man "daddy." It is up to you. Some man will take care of another man's kids but not his own, and like them to call him "daddy", but I am not a man like that.

So I say, every man do as he likes.

THE END

September 22, 1969

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SO BLACK PEOPLE "AIN'T TOGETHER"

Black People are not together because they all have their own idea about what should be done to reach their goals. Some Black People are misinformed about their social conduct and behavior. Many believe what their so-called leaders say about them.

One of the reasons they don't get together is because they are unproductive and depend on some White person for their living.

A lot of trouble Black People have is trying to make others understand the image they want others to have of them. The American Way is not what they want. I believe it is more individual. That is why they want to be called "Black", such as "Black Joe," or "Black John."

FRIENDSHIP AMONG BLACK MEN

I believe friendship among Black men is based on: "what can I do you for, or what we have in common." We work against each other because we were conditioned this way. The White farmer would say to the Black: "Joe is doing more work than you." This is a classic example of conditioning, and why Black People are not together. But after the job, they get together with malice in their heart. White People have always tried to break up a friendship among Black People. They did not want them to get together and compare notes about how they were being treated.

JEALOUSY

Jealousy came when the field nigger saw how the house nigger was living.

MALCOLM X AND DR. KING

Dr. King believed in non-violence. Malcolm X believed in any means necessary to get it done. This is a choice every Black man has to make; "to turn the other cheek or fight."

September 29, 1969

WHAT HAPPENS TO A BLACK MAN WHO MIGRATES FROM THE SOUTH INTO LOS ANGELES

In one of our many discussions, which incidentally was taped, we talked about what happens to a man who migrates from the Southern part of the United States into the Los Angeles area. In order to establish a taking off point, I will begin with what that person usually envisions California to be.

A person from the rural areas of the South usually envisions California as being the land of opportunity. He gets this concept, or maybe misconception, from the general conversations which he may have with various people. When one person is telling another person about anything to which he is attached, that person doing the talking tends to pass on only the good qualities of the thing to which he is attached, which in this case is the State of California (and the Los Angeles area specifically). Therefore, it becomes understandable for a person, upon having an untold number of discussions with people from the Los Angeles area, to have a "golden picture" of the Los Angeles area. He pictures it as a place with thousands of good paying jobs, Hollywood, good living, beautiful women, beautiful homes, and a myriad of other nice things. So that person heads for California on a, shall we say, bubble of expectancy. But upon his arrival into the Los Angeles area his bubble bursts. Why? Because his jumping-off place is the ghetto, and in the ghetto he finds the stark reality of slum living. The houses are not beautiful, the jobs are not plentiful, (and the ones for which he is qualified are not well paying jobs). He has to send his kids to a school where all the teacher cares about is his salary. He pays extravagant prices for meat that looks like it has been in the store for centuries. That ragged, run-down house he is living in costs him half of his monthly salary. There are an untold number of disappointments. And furthermore, where are all the beautiful women he's been hearing about?

Another thing you hear a lot of is this: "Man, you know, I never went to a jail until I came to L.A. The cops here are a bitch, man. This place reminds me of a police state."

All of the above things are listed in the category of disappointments. And enough disappointments bring about hostility, and you can feel this hostility every day you walk in the streets of the ghetto, whether it be in Watts, Harlem, Chicago's South Side or the Fillmore district of San Francisco. And this hostility is taken out on any and everybody that lives in the ghetto, because the people that live in the ghetto don't have the means of taking this hostility out on anyone outside the ghetto. This is the reason you don't see those happy, smiling faces in Los Angeles like you see down South. It's hard to be happy with disappointment, and doubly hard to smile in her face.

To me this is a refresher course. Things that I learned years ago. For instance Math. I dropped it many moons ago when I was in the 9th grade.

My main subject is English, which I wish I could perfect. (Diction, Pronunciation and Grammar.)

Math I wish I could perfect. But you teachers are few and haven't got the time to teach every person individually.

So there is the reason why we as students can't learn or refresh our minds of what we learned when we were kids.

A FARM LABORER, JOB WAGES AND HOUSING FACILITIES

I read an article in a newspaper about a certain Representative who claims he worked on a few farms, working as a laborer. He claims that the wages are standard, that the housing facilities are wonderful. He claims that cleanliness is next to Godliness. That the food is superb.

I went and worked on a few camps. Camp number one--Mansano's Farm Labor Camp. Number two--Balderrama Farm Labor Camp. Number three--Silverdale Farm Labor Camp. The wages were \$1.65 an hour, standard wages for farm labor, but the men were working four and seven hours a day, paying \$3.00 for room and board a day. The men slept in bunk houses. They were dirty. They gave you a woolen blanket and a mattress, which they never wash or fumigate. The bunks are so not that you go to bed after 11:00 p.m. when it gets a little cool.

You get up at 5:00 a.m. For breakfast you get two eggs, potatoes, beans, maybe corn flakes with powdered milk. Lunch is three sandwiches and a small can of soda. Supper is a little meat, beans, rice pudding. You get this food almost every day.

There are a few camps where there is an exception. That is where you work directly with the farmer. Maybe that is where this "big shot" went. But most farmers work their farms through contractors, and these contractors make money off you. They furnish the camps, and take so much percentage off your wages.

September 22, 1969

I think the students are right in trying to put an end to token integration in the higher-classed colleges in this country, and not being satisfied with only a handful of Black students in the top colleges, and having to have something to say about what is taught. I think it is about time we learn something about ourselves and our roots. All over the country, in colleges and universities such as Howard University, Lemoyne, Owen College in Memphis, and many others, have been caught in the movement and the Administration is making concessions to their demands.

September 22, 1969

We all agree the majority of Negroes here in Los Angeles are from different parts of the South. I think the first thing we should consider about these people is their reason for leaving the South.

First among these reasons is to escape the oppression and brutality of the Southern White Man. Next is their substandard living conditions, and substandard education.

I think the primary aim of all is to improve their personal lives, educationally and financially.

A great many of the people who came here were disappointed after being here awhile. They found in many instances their education was below standard. They had to improve their education, and learn new skills. Many of the people met the challenge. They returned to school or enrolled in school for the first time, and acquired new skills.

The results of this change were tremendous. Many who came here from the South, semi-illiterate, were able to earn high school diplomas and college degrees. Due to their newly acquired skills, many were able to obtain high-paying jobs, thereby increasing their living standards.

A new generation was created out of this change. More Negroes became educated, more became race-conscious, and more understood the importance of voting. They also learned that unity is an important step in the forward progress of the Negro. (Togetherness.)

September 22, 1969

TRUCK MECHANIC AND SERVICEMAN

THE JOB:

Truck mechanics do everything from a small repair job or replacement to a complete overhaul or motor exchange. Servicemen change the oil, tires, and do other jobs not closely connected to the motor. Truck mechanics are also concerned with auxiliary equipment like compressors, pumps, hydraulic appliances. The only tools a mechanic is expected to furnish are his own hand tools which cost at least four hundred dollars.

WORKING CONDITIONS:

Some garages are clean, modern and well equipped. Others are unheated and drafty. The work includes some heavy lifting. The work is not as dirty or greasy as it seems. Job hazards include hand and finger injuries and burns from hot manifolds. A truck mechanic should have good eyesight and hearing.

EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS:

They are good. There is a shortage of mechanics. About one thousand new workers are needed each year. Several hundred more are needed to keep pace with growth and to raise the number of mechanics to an adequate level.

THE PAY AND HOURS:

Mechanics are paid from \$2.25 to \$4.45 per hour. Auxiliary workers get \$3.20 to \$3.30 per hour. Swing and graveyard workers get 20¢ an hour above regular rates. They work 40 hours a week. Overtime is frequent and paid for at time-and-a-half.

September 22, 1969

Appendix II

Transcription of Sample Class Discussion from Audio Tape

THE QUALITY OF LIFE

Page 1

The way I see it, you know, the way he was talking about the other guy over there, you know, "life" I like the way T. said it, you know, he said, ah, "life" as long as you live life, you know, as long as you're alive, that's life, you know, but a way of living, it's different, you know what I mean, because you've got to make your living, you gotta work, it depends what you want. You want, you know, maybe you want to raise children, have a better home and everybody ain't getting this now, but just "living" is good, you know what I mean-----"life" but, ah, "living" like he says, a way of living. I like the way he said it, you know, maybe he can tell you a little bit more about, you know . . .

I said that things took out with life, but they tell me is that we are supposed to looking for our own living condition and family, with the family . . .

Now, "life" I think is a good word, because when you talk about "life" it explains in detail what a whole living and life altogether. So when you say "life", I understand its going to be the way of living, and that's all there is to it.

We have several things here now. We were talking about two different things again. Before we were talking about one person being responsible for his actions, and the other idea was that the environment was responsible for what happened to the person, ----- and now we're talking about "life" in terms of material things: getting a house, getting a job, getting decent clothing for the family . . . this kind of life, or, the point was brought up that living-----just living--- the quality of life perhaps, not so much being rich, but being happy-----they're two different things, although they don't necessarily go together, although they could. See there's two different ideas here.

See, the way you put in there was "better life" and then somebody said that "life" wasn't a proper word, so from then on you wanted to talk about "life" and from then on I understood you wanted to talk about "living" so naturally now you mentioned two things now, I mean, two words, two different words now.

Right, we haven't decided which is going to be the better one, see. We haven't decided whether it's better to talk about the quality of life, or the material success that goes with a better life. We have two ideas here and maybe we're going to use both, or maybe we're going to use one, we just don't know yet.

"Life" you gotta live through it. Living conditions, that's what counts, you know, you gotta live, you know what I mean, and life, I think we really have to talk about life as long as you're alive, that's what counts, you know . . .

So are you for the material thing now?

Yeah, I guess so.

But a minute ago you were for not-- a minute ago you were for the spiritual or the emotional quality . . .

"Life" you know, you can "live" anywhere, you don't care where. But the way you gotta live, you know what I mean, and "life" as long as you're alive you know, that's what counts, but after that, it's the way you're gonna live,

you know what I mean. . .

What do you mean by the way you're gonna live? The way you're gonna live in terms of spiritual, religious . . . ?

Well, that way, and the way you're gonna work. How you're gonna work, what kind of jobs you're gonna get, and all this. What your future . . . what's your future.

O.K., so you're talking about both things. You want both.

Well, I guess so, if you want to put it that way.

We're talking about the same thing that we were talking about before. We're all going to work in on this essay, and we all agree on certain things.

Life is lousy. It's pretty miserable. Well, I tried to help people out but they gimme a good fucking. Always when I try to help them out, I got screwed up.

Who did you try to help?

Well, like my daughters. I tried to help them out, but they tried to fuck one another.

What do you mean, in which way? Explain yourself more clear.

Jealousy comes in.

Explain the word "fucking".

Well, that word. . . .

Your interpretation.

I mean, they tried to take advantage of each other, right?

They tried to take advantage of them, then they tried to take advantage of me, and before I think about it, it's too late, because I already have paid the, and then if I go back out, I won't get that money back.

But in other words, what you're saying is that you're---in other words, you tried to help them out and that's where jealousy comes in.

I've been thinking it over all morning, but --- one of them wanted me to move with her but it won't work out.

O.K., what is your solution to this; what is the quality of life that you want for yourself and for your daughters?

No, that's why you oughta move by yourself. You ought to have your own place. This way, there won't be no jealousy in between the two of them.

I live at home. Live a good life. I eat what I want to, I spend what I want to,

I go out with whoever I want to go out, and being with them, well, I would have to put everything aside.

What would you expect from them?

Nothing.

Nothing? Well, what do they expect from you?

My check.

That's a damn good reason.

Yeah. But it don't go that far, you know.

When it comes in for two weeks---\$138., so that would be a little bit. That would be enough.

Are you satisfied with two dollars an hour?

No, I'm not satisfied with two dollars an hour. I would be satisfied with three twenty five an hour, because when I was working on a machine shop, I was getting three twenty five an hour, but right now . . . the only reason that I came in here to this program . . . I was in disability for six months, so the only reason my doctor told me to come here to this program---that's if I could make it or not, because, I go back to the hospital August 14, and August the 12th, and if they find that I am disabled to work, I wouldn't have to worry no more, because, what I'm getting here, I will be getting more in disability. But I would be staying in a Army camp.

Ah, you're a G.I.

Yes, I was a veteran. I'll be going to Long Beach or to Sawtelle, if I'm not able to do this kind of work. But when I came into this program, I want to prove to myself that I could do it again, and if I cannot do it, then I'll go back.

Hey, ah, what do you think of the school right here?

The school right here? It's nice, but I wish we were getting more money, say, about three seventy five an hour, because it's worth it. A lot of people that I spoke to---they're cement finishers---, and I know what's a cement finisher makes a day. In a few hours, they make about 20,30 or 40 dollars, and what they get here is only two dollars an hour.

But what about the school, you know, I mean the---right here?

It's good to come to school because we learn, and we get more educated, and some of us, we really need schooling.

Alright, now wait, let's . . .

What did you say?

4

No, because we have one of our people teaching us, and we are learning. I know we are; all of us are.

We're learning, that's definitely, and that goes for your, ah, is it your brother, H.?

H. , yeah, that's the one.

He also has a lot of patience with us, and we're learning, see.

And why do we have to go back to work---why do we have to go back to work in three hours. Like Tuesday---they told us that we didn't have to go. Now, we gotta go back, why?

Well, wait a minute, we're getting away from the subject, here.

What he is trying to say is, why don't we just come to school---why don't we just come to school the other three hours, instead of going back to work, 'cause that's a hell of a thing to do, like, going from here and going back there, and getting all dirty when you can just come here and pick up more on your education, especially on your language. That's what we're trying to get down right now.

Okay, now we're not really getting away from the subject, but what I mean to say, let's put it into perspective. Let's relate what you're saying to what our subject is, is what I meant to say. Now, you're talking about the quality of life, and you're saying that the quality of your life is that you're not making enough money, and therefore you have disagreements with your daughters, you don't--

Problems, problems . . .

You have problems.

What do you have?

A problem of life, that's what he is talking about.

Go ahead, T., now, what do you have to say about this? What are your problems?

Well, it's a problem how we're going to live, and how we're going to earn money to live.

What kind of life do you want for you and your family?

But what does that mean?

You think about your son?

What kind of problems are we talking about right now?

It's up to us, with no help from anybody, and make your own way, you know, but you have to have a little education in order to speak up, you know, like

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like you say, and that's what we're learning here, you see. You're teaching us that, and little by little, you know . . .

Okay.

Excuse me, I didn't get that?

Well, it's something about my friends, they say that somebody wants to, that we don't come to school no more, they want to take out the school. I don't know why, and I want somebody to explain to me . . .

Yeah, he wants somebody to explain to him why, because, you know you're learning here, like H's learning to speak English better, and he wants to know why there always somebody says, well, you don't come this week because like this you know, and maybe come here for a couple of hours, and then he's gone the rest of the week, and you don't know what's going on. He don't know that you're trying to pick up on your English and learn better English, because that's the only way you can make it in this country right here, and that's what he wants to know, because he likes school, and he wants to better his education, and they're doing it with you teachers here.

Okay, A. . . . you want to talk in Spanish, go ahead, talk in Spanish.

Las dos . . .

You just got married, right?

Yeah.

Why did you get married?

Because I'm happy. , . a wife, kids . . .

what else?

Everything. My own home . . .

Your own home?

Yeah.

How are you going to get this?

In my job.

Your job, okay, what else?

Well, my job, and my good friends. To make good people.

What's good people?

Well, the good people, best friends.

Okay, your personal friends?

Yeah.

Okay, so you are carrying it as far as your personal friends. What about the rest of the society?

Sometimes.

Sometimes. When?

Well, when I think them other guys going easy with me . . .

Say that again . . . "When you think . . ."

The other peoples is a good friend with us. I mean in my own home.

Okay, G. What do you have to say about that?

Not a Goddamned thing.

Excuse me, I didn't get that.

Not a Goddamned thing.

Thank you.

You don't care what happens to you?

To me?

Yeah.

I'm too Goddamned old now, anyhow.

In other words, you're just ready to die.

Just about, I guess. I drink too Goddamned much wine, petrolio, every Goddamned thing.

Okay, well, is that happiness to you?

It is, it is. I feel happy about it and everything.

Okay, that's what you care about. I mean, everybody cares about something, and you care about wine.

Well, I do. Not every day, except Sundays.

Okay.

I go to church on Sundays.

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You go to church on Sunday?

Yes, I do.

What church do you go to?

Catholic church

Okay, then you have a religious idea of happiness.

Yes, that's right.

Okay, what about your family.

I have no family. Never married.

Okay, so in other words, you're more of a loner. You don't feel tied in to the society as much.

No, not too much. Just to my own thinking.

Okay. That's your thing. That's your idea, and that's as good as anybody else's idea.

That's right.

Alright. V?

I refuse to answer; it might tend to incriminate me. I'm busy right now. I'm thinking of something else, see.

Okay

Jump on this guy over here, shit. I don't want to fuck to that.

Okay, who else.

Well, what do you care about? What is the quality of life for you?

I don't have no qualities of life. I'm just like R. over there. I'm too God-damned old. I'm 53 years old. I got a daughter 28, I think she is, yeah, 28. I got everything I want in life right now. I ain't got no money, though. That's what I do like, money. I want money, that's what I want.

Okay, you do want something.

I said I want something: money

Okay.

How about the quality of job? I mean, you're getting old, but yet you have to work.

I can't get a good job.

No, you're not too old to get a good job.

Oh, don't tell me that. They don't want you. You have to be 25, no more.

What was that, sir?

You don't get a good job after you're 25 years old.

. . . in Spanish, lo que sea.

Yes, please give us an interpretation.

What do you think is important in life?

I don't know.

Do you have a family? You don't have a family.

He's got somebody else's family!

What would you guys think if the program would end right now, what would happen to you guys?

Si, el programa.

The program would completely finish.

I don't know. Try to find another job.

What kind of a job?

Well, anything. If you don't have nothing, you're supposed to find anything.

Like what, for instance?

Well, now, if this program goes out, I think I go to find a road equip for the beer company.

Find a job as what?

Well, you can do anything over there.

Porter?

No.

What factory?

Yeah, there is for they make beer.

Alright. Where they can the beer. Bottle it.

Yeah, bottles, cans. . .

Alright, running the machines.

Yeah.

Would you be happy at that?

Sure, why not? It's real good over there. You only work seven hours and a half.

Okay, so would that be your reason for living? Because you want to work, you want to earn some money at your job?

It's supposed to. Everybody that work is supposed to make money.

What about religion?

Religion . . .

Do you care about religion?

De que religion eres?

Catholic. Sure, but I never go to church, I'll tell you that, because . . .

Okay, so the material things are more important. The money, the car, the house-- that's more important.

Yeah, that's where you can live more better.

Let's hear something from you. I know you got a family.

Pues. aqui estamos, quien sabe manana no sabemos.

Pos aqui andamos quien sabe manana no sabemos.

Well, excuse me, I know you gentlemen over here got a conversation. Let me get a little piece of it, please. I know you have a family.

Man, we talking about dope now.

I don't care what you talk about. That's part of family living.

Why don't you go someplace else now and leave me alone now. I'm thinking of things over here that I don't want to be nobody to hear, understand?

Well, I can dig that on the game side.

What is the problem? I mean, that you're talking about?

We want to know something about family living. Something to discuss.

Well, you know, I would like to live without having to ask for a handout, see, and right now, there's thousands of people in that predicament, see. You know they have to go and ask for a handout, you know, a help, see, and if they paid us enough for our work, which is worth more than what we're getting paid for, then we can pay our taxes and have more dignity and more sel-you know-everyth'--

Now what you mean a handout---what kind of a handout? It's a lot of hands out, I could give you my hand. . . but what do you mean with a handout?

Let me explain. It's a request for help from the government.

Oh, you mean a pension.

No, not a pension. Alright, welfare.

Oh, welfare.

Yeah.

Just what you're doing right now, that's what he means.

A pension's O.K. if you have to be on the job for a long time, and that's the trouble, to get a job first.

Why is a pension O.K?

Because you earned it.

You worked for it.

Yeah.

Right, so in other words, dignity is important.

Yes.

It isn't just a matter of material things; getting a better house, a better car. If you sell yourself, then that's not good enough for you. You want to be able to . . .

I don't care about no new car or new furniture. All I want is not to ask nobody for anything, and just earn my work with my sweat.

Yeah, but you-----there are two kinds of a pension. A Army pension, or a old age pension, so what do you mean by that?

Oh, you talking about something else.

No, no. I'm talking--

I'm not talking about pensions.

Welfare, County, State. State aid.

Oh.

He wanted to know what was the difference between a pension and a handout. Now, if you're on welfare, that's a handout, because that's where you lose your dignity, which is what we're talking about, more or less. Now on a pension, Army pension, or when you work and earn your station of living, collection of money when you working for many years, well that's another thing altogether.

That's it.

Do you get a pension from the Army?

No, and I wish I did.

Don't you get any kind of pension?

No.

O.K., here's somebody who has a different idea. You say that you will take a handout?

If somebody would give me the money, I'll take it.

You don't care if you have to kiss ass for it.

No, I was brought up man, if somebody gives you a handout, you take a handout.

You have to go ask for it first.

Well, I mean, I'll ask for it, too. I ain't ashamed of it.

You have to wait for hours before they'll give it to you.

There's another thing about life. We've talked about religion. We've talked about material things in life; getting a house and a car and all of this. There's something else. I don't think most of you expect to just work and work and work. What about pleasure? How do you consider pleasure as part of your life? Enjoyment?

You know, it's just like every other family. They stay home and do a little gardening with the family.

You have free time.

Yeah. On the weekends, I mean. After you're off work, naturally.

O.K. What other ideas are there about pleasure?

Pleasure . . . there are lots of things. You can say, pleasure by playing baseball; sex is pleasure. If you have a hobby, fishing is a pleasure, so naturally you just can't work all the time. Besides work, you have to do something else to get the thing out of your mind. You work five days a week, right? So Friday--I mean Saturday and Sunday we have to relax. Forget about work.

Rest the bones, got to rest them bones.

I say that my problem is that I raise a big family and we supposed to support them, how do we get educations as far as we can, and have a good living with them and divide the money we get and all the family and have a good pleasures like go to the parks, go to the beach on weekend? but the most important is keep working, I think myself, because this . . . the rest of my kids in school so this, so far, I think.

Okay, Senor M. , estamos hablando de la calidad de la vida lo que es importante y es lo que todos esperamos en la vida un poco de placer, un poco de felicidad, un poco de dinero, quizas. Que piensa Vd. acerca de ese tema?

Pues no, yo no hallo como decirle, yo . . .

Diganos cuales planes tiene para su vida--Que es lo que usted espera lograr en la vida? Que es lo que le gustaria hacer en la vida? Que es lo que le parece importante en la vida?

Pues, este . . . yo, pues, tengo un hijo en la escuela, y le estoy ayudando pa' que el pueda . . .

Para su hijo.

Para el porvenir . . .

Usted es la primera persona que ha dicho eso, fijese. Bueno, otros han hablado de su familia, pero no en ese sentido, porque estan hablando de su familia para ayudarse a si mismo.

Si, tengo un hijo estudiando. Para el futuro de el.

Now, what about this? What happens when people come from out of--you know, a different part of the country, and also in a city? What ideas do you have on that?

The whole problem is , ah, the state they come into, most likely. Most times they can't find a regular person born in this state. Like Los Angeles, more peoples, out of state people live here than peoples that born here.

Alright. So what kind of results does this have?

On the State? Or on the people?

Well, on both.

Well, most of them be getting County aid, then trying to live when they come from another state to come in this state. They don't have no jobs, just coming, traveling.

In other words the city isn't ready for them?

No.

Do you think that's what's happened here?

Yes, I know that's what's happening here.

So, in other words, they don't have city services like, let's say, garbage disposal water and sewage, and--they don't have electricity hooked up everywhere they supposed to have. Do you think this is what's happened, because people have come in from out of town?

They're not living like they were when they came here, see? When they came here they was probably living good, but after they got here, and found it was different

Well, were you all living good before you came here?

Yes, quite a few people was.

So you think it's worse here, hu?

Well, I wouldn't say it worse, but when you just come into another state and trying to settle down in this state, and find out a little worser than you was before left the home that you were living in.

So what you're saying is that you came because you felt it would be better, but it turned out that it wasn't?

Right.

What do you have to say?

... and when they get out here well they

Well, most people came on vacation, and when they got out here, well, they liked the weather and everything--in fact, they got a lot, most of them--a lot better jobs, you know, after being out here.

So, do you all have relatives here? Did you have relatives here before you came?

Yes, we did.

So that's another thing that could happen. Somebody will come ahead of you and then you say, "Well, I'm going to visit my cousin out in Los Angeles," or something, and you take off and leave, you know. Where did you all come from, I mean, where did you come from?

I came from Mississippi.

Mississippi?

Well, of course, I've been here over 25 years.

Yeah, well that's alright. O.K., How many of you people from Mississippi?
1 . . . 2 . . . 3 . . . from Mississippi. You came from Mississippi?

No, I came from Freeport, Louisiana.

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I was born . . .

Anybody from the North? Anybody from Chicago? New York? West Coast, Washington, Oregon, Denver, Maryland, Baltimore?

O.K., ~~Everybody~~ born in the South, O.K., except for Mr. K. over here. What is something else that can happen when people move like that? I mean, if you're all from the South, you have a certain kind of Southern society ideas. Like, in the South people are more polite. Wouldn't you say people are more polite in the South?

Yeah, yeah. You don't even have to lock your door.

Well, that's amazing. O.K., ah, when people are saying something bring the microphone in closer to them. OK--that's alright. I yell anyway. O.K. What is something else that can happen that was different, in other words . . . the South was one way, but you find life out here different. How is it different? In what other ways?

Well, you don't have to crawl on your knees to the White.

White and Black are different from the South, because--I'm sure that the other guys would agree. Because Blacks are mistreated here in the West Coast, and the White is covering up everything, because, in the South, the White lets you know where he stands, where here you don't know where you stand. It's all

under cover, but it's hidden beautifully.

Yeah, I'll go for that.

Now this man here said you don't have to crawl on your knees for the white man. You don't have to crawl on your knees here, but back there you have to crawl. Oh. Back there you had to crawl?

Damn right. Even babies. Say you and a kid raised together, both the same age? Well, you'd start calling him Mr and yessir and no sir. . .at the age of ten years old, and you were ten.

Yeah, but you know where you stand.

Not now, then when I was born. That was years ago.

As a Black man, when you was in Mississippi, you know where you stand? O.K., wherever you lived in the South, you knew where you stood at?

Right. I mean, it wasn't like it was here.

Alright now, we had something interesting that just happened . . . This man over here said that he thought things were going to be better and it turned out that they really weren't better. At the same time, you do agree that in that sense, at least, they were worse in the South. But then S. W. said that they're not really worse in the South, they're just as bad here except that you don't have to come out as openly. Does everybody agree to that? That prejudice is just as strong here except it's not as open?

Of course, you can fight back here.

Alright, let's hear that.

Well, you don't have to say "yessir" and "nossir" and kiss nobody's ass.

How do you fight back?

That depends on the situation. You mean just normally? How do you fight the system now?

How do you fight the system here as opposed to how you might fight it in the South?

Riots.

Riots?

Well, if that's what they understand, is violence.

Why does the Los Angeles police department beat on so many Black guys here now?

Don't do nothin about it.

Yeah.

Brothers are scared.

The brothers are scared? I'm sure they're not scared of theyself.
Do you think so?

No, I don't think so.

Well, if there was trouble between the police department in the South, and the Black man in the South, what provocation would they take?

They can take you out and beat you, or they can hang you.

That's what I say.

You see, back in the South, if they even look like they want to do anything, or say anything smart, see, they hang 'em back there. Shoot 'em, kill 'em--- their whole families. Out here, brothers won't stand for that, see, they're going to fight 'till they die. Which is a lot of young people we got here don't mind dying. Back they're scared they was trained that way, see. They train them like dogs back there, when out here they won't let them do that.

O.K., does anybody have anything to say about that? So one of the qualities of life is, ah, self respect. Would you all agree to that?

Right.

You all agree to that?

Fighting for the things that you believe in, or fighting for your rights?

. . . And you think you have a better chance to fight for your rights here than in the South? All agree to that?

No, I don't.

You don't?

No. I believe that a person back there should fight just as hard as the peoples out here should, 'cause that's where they're really needed at. Like in the South. They don't need it out here quite as bad, but, like you say that the policemen is your most trouble out here. Back there it's everybody against the colored man. The Black man. So any way you look at it, you still got to fight, no matter how. You want to make your races better. You have to fight.

But don't the Black man himself make his own race look better here? I mean worse here?

Yes, he do.

Don't they fight and stab each other in the back here?

Right.

And what does the Black man do back in Alabama and Mississippi, they have to stick together.

Right.

Let me talk over that dictaphone. I've been all over five times. Only people give me a rough time is the Black man.

Alright, so that's another problem, right? People fighting each other. In other words, you may have a common enemy, but you don't worry about that. You're too busy fighting each other, you all agree to that?

Yeah, yes, darn right.

O.K., but I think that we're all aware that maybe we agree to that, but we don't live by that law--by that rule. We go right on, you know, brothers cutting up brothers just because they get mad or they get loaded, or some damned thing, and they don't really pay attention to that. So maybe this is one of the things that we want to change about our lives. Maybe one of the important things that we can learn--because, you see, this is learning too. Learning isn't just knowing what a subject and a verb, and a pronoun and preposition are. Learning is also . . . learning how to get along in a society, how to get along with other people who are the same as you are, and other people who are different than you are. And most of those are just as important, and it's not the same thing.

O.K. now, let's go into another subject. This may sound like a funny question, but how do you get your food? Let's talk about that. Food is one of the most important things in a man's life. How do you get your food?

From the farmers.

Alright, but you don't go to the farm and buy it from the farmer.

I go to the store.

You go to the store, right. So this is one of the qualities of life, you see, this is something else that's different. In the South you might very well have had, ah, you know, like, a little garden, you know, and maybe, you know some hogs and goats and something else, because out in the country, if you lived in the country, if you didn't live in a big city, a lot of times people get a lot of their food right there, and they grow it. But in California, and Los Angeles, it's different. This is a different--this is something else that is changed the quality of life. Do you think this is better---do you think it's better to go to the store?

Really. Yeah. I do.

You do? It's more convenient.

Right.

O.K., what about the fact that sometimes the food isn't very fresh. Does that bother you?

Yes. Right. Yeah.

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Like when it's four or five days old, or six weeks? They charge you the same price.

Right on.

O.K., so that's another problem.

Second class. Yeah, second class food.

Class "C" meat.

We get a lot of that in the ghettos, unless you go to a meat house. Third class, fourth class meat.

O.K., so what about housing? Have any of you built your own house? Have you ever had an opportunity to, you know, actually build your own house?

Right, uh-huh.

You have?

Well, I mean---Well, see, I had my father, see. Like I was saying, like in Mississippi, peoples built their homes back there, They didn't have to rent.

Right.

A man could use so much land, and you built your home there, and raised your crops, and your food, and everything else right there.

O.K. So does anybody know what that is called?

Sharecropping.

Oh, sharecropping. Well, I didn't mean that. You were more independent.

That's right. . . .

Even as a sharecropper. Now a sharecropper means that you didn't really own the land, somebody else owned the land. O.K. What about land ownership? Does anybody own land here?

No, not really.

You own it if you pay the taxes.

O.K., so do you think the opportunities to own land are better here, or better in the South?

Better in the South.

In the South you have a better chance of owning land.

Plus your homes are cheaper also.

And taxes where are cheaper?

Higher here.

They're higher here. O.K.

Do you have any taxes back South?

Yeah, but very low.

And another thing about it--when you have land here--you only own the topsoil. Like, any mineral rights, and all the rest of that? Somebody else has that.

You pay for your mineral rights. Then you own them if you pay a price.

That's somebody else, though.

Like, Standrad Oil might have whole of L.A. bought up already as far as mineral rights go.

You just rentin the land.

Right on.

The Real Estate took three homes from my brother--you never do get through paying for no homes.

You mean to tell me that if you pay for the price of your mineral rights you don't own those?

Not exactly. Because, see, ah, you don't know who is fronting for the homes. See, Real Estate is sometimes mostly a front.

You don't pay for it. You only own I think--ah, under six feet you don't own. But if you pay the price, then you can have all mineral rights.

O.K., now this man over here has got something to say.

Don't ever buy a home in California. You'll never get through paying for it. Once you buy it you never pay it. Taxes or no taxes, here. My brother-in-law in the service bought a home out here in Compton. It got down to as far as paying the notes down to 500 dollars on the end of the year, every year. They fix it so they have to make a loan and when they got through with it and everything,

he ended up paying 176 dollars a month, and he still ain't through. So how is he going to pay for a home in California? You must goin to quit, ah, repairing the house.

Man, they got billions of houses around here, and somebody must be paying the taxes on something.

When you buy a house you got to buy it through Barret & Merritt. You got the house; Barret & Merritt got you.

I only make two dollars, my friend.

Does it pay for your home?

Yeah.

What do you do on the side?

Why, everybody got a little game.

You're not BS'ing, are you?

Yeah.

Alright. So we've discussed that the mineral rights don't belong to the person that owns the land.

Even if you pay for it? They charged me 130 dollars for my mineral rights. That's what I get up here on the side, and then therefore I should own it. Not unless they are tricking me.

What they do if they find oil or something like that, they give you a kickback on that money that you paid.

They playing you a trick, eh?

Yeah, that's what it is up to.

Alright. What about machines and appliances? Sometimes people in the South used to make their own things. I don't know too much exactly what they would be making-- what? What would be something that people would make themselves?

Well, they make their own corn grader.

They make their own plow.

They might make their own furniture.

They makes their own furniture, too.

O.K, but is this true any longer?

Well, I wouldn't call them pioneers, or nothin like that, but, you know, they take the skin of a cow and they make, you know, the leather bottom chairs, and you know, they cut it in strips and make rockers and these types of things. Now this is going on today . . .

Right on.

In Los Angeles.

Oh, in Los Angeles?

No.

Oh, well that's different. In Los Angeles you don't make your own things.

Well, I mean, if, ah, if . . . If you happen to went back down there, and, you know, it go and maybe you want just have this in your home here, in the city, I mean, you probably would.

Does anybody here make their own things? Have you ever made a chair? Or anything like that--anything that you use?

Going to school. In school.

What type of school?

In high school. Junior high school.

You know there are many schools.

I hear you.

O.K., now. We've thalked about property. Does anyone want to say anything more about property? You all agree that if you have enough mpney, you can buy the property, and buy the mineral rights, and be more independent. In other words, really, what it amounts to, I think, from what everybody's been saying, is that if you have the money, you can more or less go into a situation like you had in the South, where you get your own---you know--if you wanted to buy enough land and stuff, you could raise your own food, but this would take money. Whereas in the South, people who were poor raised their own food. Maybe people here who are poor go to the store. They don't have enough money to get enough land to raise their own food, and to make their own furniture, and do all these other things.

No. There are people who come here from the South and raise their own food in their back yard, for canned goods.

How many people in here--families--preserve food?

Peaches, and you know, those--whatchacall those things, my grandmother do them . .

Apricots?

Yeah. You know, she got a garden in the back yard, man, you know. Greens, corn and stuff like that.

Beets, carrots.

O.K. We've been talking about two different things here. One is where the society supplies everything to you in stores, and Sears Roebuck gives you your machines, and all this; and the other one is where the man himself goes out and gets a lot of his stuff himself. Now, which do you think is better? Do you think, ah, do you think that the system that they have of consumption and production, with everything being bought at the store--do you think that's better? You know, at the beginning of the conversation we agreed that it was better to get your food at the store, but it seems to me that a few people have come up with some ideas that indicate that this is not really necessarily better.

It's more convenient. It's always better to use your own brains and hands.

Some things I don't have to go to the store and buy. I have them raised in my back yard.

You saving money.

I got a chicken, a few pigeons. That's why I got em in my back yard.

It takes a little work. Yeah, it takes a little work, but what do I have to do on weekends?

I can see growing grain, or something, you know, reasonable, but when you do all this labor to keep it up, it's hard.

O.K., So this is what happens. Everything hangs together. If you are going to buy your food at the store all the time, it means you've got to have a job to pay for the food. It also means you don't have time to raise your own food. So, what's happened--from a farming situation, where you do your own business, to an industrial situation, like you have in a big city, where you don't take care of your own business, but you go and get wages. You work for somebody else, and you take care of their business, and this gives you the money to go buy your food and take care of your needs, supposedly. So these are the two kinds of existences, the two kinds of lives, you know, that people have. Of course, a lot of times they mix. You have a little of both. What do you think about that? Let me ask you again: Is it better for you to work for somebody else and get enough money to buy your food, or is it better for you to raise your own food and spend all your time doing that?

I think it's better to work and buy your food, 'cause in a city like we are here, is no' convenient to have a job and to buy your food than to try and raise food, because you won't be able to do it in a city anyway. Not quite as free handed as you will in the country.

O.K., so the large population has something to do with it.

I didn't know all the South was a country.

Well, they don't have very big cities there. Atlanta is one of the biggest cities and it's not very big.

O.K, now let's go into something else. Do you ever travel very much?

You, know, not that many places, but, ah, you know, every once a year I leave here and I go down through Denver, 'round Louisiana and all around, you know, these kind of places back down in the South, like that.

Down home.

Well not necessarily home. Well, you could say down home.

Behind the Iron Curtain?

Hello.

Alright.

O.K, How do you go? Do you fly? Do you take a bus? Do you drive?

I drive.

Why do you go?

Well, it's just something that I like to do, you know. I just like to get away from it all, and get back down there, you know, and do my thing.

Get down there where the white man gone kick you in the ass.

No, no. It's just, you know, I don't know. I just like being down there.

The people are different--friendlier. Everybody gets through you.

It's completely opposite on the West Coast. 'Cause they not friendly back there.

Well, see, a black man come here, and he starve. When you go home--you hungry--somebody gone feed you.

Right on. You be walking down the street--you look like you a stranger in town, you stop, get to ask questions, next thing you know you sittin in there with 'em. All this big old platters of food and stuff, sitting around in front of you--you don't have to worry about nothin'.

Well, that's true. Like I said we don't even have to lock our doors down there.

Lay up all night long with your windows up, doors open. Lay out on the front lawn, if you want to. Nobody gone bother you.

The mosquitoes'll get you.

O.K, so you think that something has been lost. In other words, you

say it's more convenient to live the way we live here, but at the same time we pay a price for it--we've lost something.

In a way it is, in a way it isn't, because you know, I have about maybe about 30 or 40 relatives live back South, and everyone have a brand new automobile.

Better jobs.

That's right.

And they higher paying jobs in the South now.

I don't know about that. I know they got them brand new automobiles.

Some old way, hu?

There's a lot of making more than two dollars an hour, down there. I was down there in September last year. They got them big nice cars, nice houses, and they got these here farms, you know, and they got beautiful cattle, you know, all like that.

Well, really, White man up there just frontin, hu?

Well, look. They can buy a brand new automobile making 1.50 an hour down there.

Yeah, that's because automobiles down there are cheap.

There's a lot of factories going up down there.

You get a better credit thing down there, see, because down here they hire you and fire so quick, the finance company don't never want to finance you. Down there, I hear it's kind of easy to get financing.

Most of them Cadillacs, too.

Well, another thing. See, uh, rent is cheaper down there. Just like here we pay 80 dollars a month--you only pay 20 dollars a month there. Makes a lot of different.

Well, here a home will cost you, what? 40,000. Same house you get for 40,000 I don't care if it's in Beverly Hills. . .

You get it 15,000.

You know, for 40,000 you can live in a mansion just like Beverly Hills.

Like a king.

The average Watts home almost cost you 40,000 up here.

O.K, let's contrast this with more of a reality. We've been talking about Cadillacs and 40,000 dollar homes--ah, what is your daily routine. How do you go about living from day to day? Let's talk about that a little bit.

I like to stay sharp every day---brand new Cadillac and no work.

How are you going to do that?

I don't know how to do it.

That's what you would like.

Do a little pinping.

Right on.

You know about that game, sir, don't you?

No, I don't know anything about it.

I like to fuck'en too well myself for be out there fuckin' somebody else.

Tell you what I like to do--I would like to make more money per hour, and I can buy what I want.

You want to work?

That's right.

Honest pay's for you, right?

An honest day's pay for an honest day's work.

I can buy what I want.

Just investing and getting somebody investing your money would seem like to be the best thing to me be closer to being sharp, right?

What would you have to invest in?

I mean, you know, just like turn your money on any kind of way you can. Any kind of way you know best.

O.K., what about recreation and amusement. We've been talking about working and, of course, you know I think most people want to work if they're going to get paid a decent wage, but you know you can't go around working all your life, every day all day long. What about recreation and amusement. Do you feel that this is different than the way it was in the South, or do you feel it's better or do you think it could get better? Do you think there is enough recreation in your life, or do you think that there could be more or a better quality?

Here it is better recreation, because in the South, Louisiana, I used to swim the rattlesnake; here we got pools.

I have more fun down there than I have here.

What was that?

Everywhere you go for recreation here you have to pay for the sonofabitch, you can get it free there anywhere.

I go along with that.

But you say they're gaming on you?

Unless they put somethin' in a, you know where the people gets, it's convenient for people to get there, you know, like in certain areas of the city, I mean, there's maybe one park, no movies, ah, you know one swimming pool.

I understand there isn't a single movie house in all of South Central Los Angeles.

No, it's not.

You know somethin'? We used to have two on 103rd. We used to have one on Broadway, one on Manchester, right around the corner from each other, and one on Vermont and Imperial, and you know, they took all them shows.

What happened?

Na, they jus' cut 'em loose, they still standin'.

One of them's a church, I know that.

Yeah, well Triple A is a church, they tore the Manchester down.

Southside is a church. . .

Yeah, that's a church. Largo, remember that? They tore that down, turn it into a church.

Closest one is Huntington Park now, I guess, huh?

Yeah, or on 5th Avenue and Manchester.

Well, what you're saying is Watts area is pretty bad?

Well, i'd like to know the reason. Do you know the reason?

No.

Well I do. We all refused to go.

WHO WHAT? Man, every Saturday them SHOWS IS PACKED, BROTHER!

No, they refused to go--everytime I went to, I mean uh, I understand me. They wasn't refusin' to go, they was constantly movin' 'em out. They was constantly movin' 'em out. I used to go to the show every Sunday and that thing be packed back through the week it be packed.

You couldn't even get in.

Right on.

Alright, you find a good business man, right? If I had me a theater and opened it up, and every night when my theater runnin' my 'lectricity's gone on and five people sittin' up, they won't even pay my light bill. Now what I'm gone do? Go broke or move that show out and put it someplace else?

Well, let me say something on that. There're 500,000 black people in L.A; there're probably more by this time, and it seems to me that out of 500,000 people you could at least support one movie show. There'd be enough people to go every night.

You'd be surprised, I. . .you was, uh, I mean just listening like, uh, on a Sunday afternoon you may be walkin' through yo' neighborhood and I mean the smaller kids, you just hear them say "Isn't a damn thing to do, used to be able to go to the show, ain't shit aroun' here no mo', you know? I mean, I hear these type of things all the time.

That what make a juvenile delinquent.

Right on. You know they say, well you know I can't do this well. I'll go over here and fuck this up or do somethin', you know.

Yeah, cause they don't have any recreation.

Right on, and then they get tired of going to the same apartments, there's nothin' there, you know.

Alright, what about art? Does art enter into your life at all? In any way?

Yeah, music.

Alright, music. Music is probably one of the big things, right?

Yeah, it's about the biggest.

Alright, what about music? You all like music?

All black men like music.

They started music.

I like music, I paid \$126 for a guitar

You been listening to Obie.

Make you feel like at home.

Right on. That's what I dig.

You dig painting?

Oh, yeah. Paintings--abstract paintings, you know, and, ah, what else you call them other things over there? You know, ah, I don't know. I can't say it. I know what I'm talking about, but I can't say it.

Like portraits?

Right on, portraits.

O.K., well, alright now, this is another quality of a man's life, you know. We've been talking about jobs. We've been talking about recreation. Art. What about other people? We were talking about, maybe, ah, you know, men in the community a lot of times are working against each other, and I think there was some kind of, ah, ideas in here being expressed about people in the South were friendlier, and people in L.A. were more hostile. People had a tendency to cut each other up over here more than they did in the South. What about friendship? Do you consider that very important in your life?

Well, me, myself, I know I'm the type of person that, ah, friendship doesn't mean nothing to me, you know. I mean, whether I have a friend here or I'm your friend, or this and that--it don't mean nothing to me. Other words, as long as I'm, you know, I can get along, it's just me, you know. I feel like I don't need nobody.

Feel like a lot of backstabbing.

Right on. Just like you say. I don't trust nobody. I don't trust nobody nothing.

So the Black man has moved up here, and he has this, and he just went wild.

You don't feel close to other people.

Not here in L.A.

You can't, because whenever you try to accomplish something, just say for instance, you come into a little money. Your brothers want to go try to beat you.

I been around the world five times. Black man the only one give me trouble--and the police.

Well, in the meantime a real brother not gone do that.

That's right.

A real brother not gone do that.

But don't a lot of these brothers be fakin sometime, you know, on the brother side? I mean, when it first started out, it sounded kind of well, didn't it?

Either they gone snitch on you, or they gone shoot you.

Well, why do you think that is?

They have no united-y

There's a million things.

Jealousy, you know?

You got a dog eat dog society out here.

That's right.

Let's listen to this man.

Wait, I want to hear.

No, see, people come from back down South, and everybody's getting along. But they come out here, you got a dog eat dog society. Everybody's hostile, because it's not what it's supposed to be.

One dog to another, just like damn fools.

Right on.

In other words, you don't think there's enough to go around.

I don't think so, no.

So that only some people have a little bit--I got mines now you get yours.

Right.

Alright. Do you think that it's meanness? This man over here said it was just because, you know, Black people are mean.

You get hostile when you come to a place like this because, uh, you hear a whole lot about California. Back down South you hear a whole lot about California, it's this, it's that. You make such and such. But when you get out here, and find out it's not like that, well, uh, it turns you off.

How many of you agree with that?

Well, I agree with some of the things he's saying, but I feel like this here:

If they keep cutting each other throat, how they ever gone accomplish anything, if they won't cooperate together?

You think they accomplish a lot when Martin Luther King was alive?

Yes, in a way they did, because they all got together. Have someone that they believed in. Most of them on our sides, they didn't believe in what he's saying. Most of them did, and have people following him.

I think Malcolm X accomplished more than Martin Luther King ever did. 'Cause he was a man of--he was for real. It wasn't no "turn the other cheek" like Martin Luther King, see. He with his enemies. He was for cutting their throats. He would integrate, you know. Well, Malcolm X, he didn't believe in this.

Malcolm X believed in fightin.

When necessary, yes. It's like--you take like--you see a brother going to somebody--burglarize somebody home, and be qualified to burglarize. Well, he won't go out here in Hollywood where he can get him one of the expensive stereos or expensive TV's and jewelry and furniture, but he'll go spend one of these little hundred and some dollars black and white TV's, and this and that, see, and he gone to get the same time if he just gets caught for either one, you know. But they'd rather stay in the ghettos and do each other, instead of you know, gone out where the money's at and the money, see.

Well if we all believe in fighting against each other, how we ever gone to build us a theater out here--How we gone build a black man's swimming pool? A black man theater? A Black man this, or a Black man's factory? But we all scared to because we all figure we gone cut each other throat.

Now I think Mr. G. is ready to say a few words.

Everybody around here talkin about the brothers robbin all of us, and carrying on. They all need to get together, there wouldn't be anything. All of us gone to the moon and shit. They can't be gone to the moon. Look at all that happening down here. You gone to the moon. They ain't got things together down here. Talking about gone to the moon. Gonna build another country up there and shit. They ain't gone do that. They can't fuck with that moon.

You think it would have been nice if they just went up there and found a Black man standing up there?

It would have been funky.

Alright. We have a few people around here that haven't said anything. What do you think about Martin Luther King and Malcolm X and people getting together? Do you have anything to say about that?

He won't bite you.

I know it won't bite me. Black mans--everytimes Black peoples try to get

together, then if I got something or other, I think when a friendship, somebody try getting a friend to me. He trying to get a friend to me to get close to me, to get what I got. Many people will put the make on you to get to what I got, because, if I leave home, he know a little something about me. He knows where I'm gone, and he goes in there. brother rob me! take what I got. He run out in the street, give something to so-and-so: he got money in his pocket. He'll knock me on the head and take it, or maybe get killed. I still ain't got a damn thing. So Black peoples ain't gone get together.

You don't think they ever will?

No.

Eventually they will. The younger generation is coming up.

Mr. P. Yes, Mr. P. , let's hear from you, please.

Whatcha wanna hear?

O.K., what we've been talking about. Did you listen to what we were saying?

Yeah.

Alright.

What we were saying?

Uh, what you just said to him.

Yeah, about Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X, and people getting together.

Right on.

What about it?

Well, what I say, y'understand me, is that y'understand me, I mean, why should y'understand me, a brother, y'understand me, and a brother, y'understand me, be fighting together, y'understand me? Why they cain't get theyselves well put together, y'understand me, and the White man get out the world, y'understand me , and leave us Black pretty people alone, you know.

In other words, you think the Black people should get together.

Hello.

You think they will?

If they get their mouth put together. Well, they heads, brains. . .

Their heads together, yeah.

Right on.

Now let's hear over here.

Well, um, let's see.

We're talking about Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, and Black people getting together.

And about them alligator shoes you'll be wearing tonight.

Let him talk.

I says, um, I think they should get together too, you know.

Do you think they will?

Sometime they gone to get together.

How?

In due time they'll get together by ah, let's see, by getting in, ah, I mean, most of them are together already. Say, like the organization--the Black Panther Organization. You got a lot of Black Panthers together, and um----

O.K., but you got a problem here. Now, people talk about Muslims and the US and the Black Panther. Now you know that Black Panthers and US are fighting each other. That's not very together, is it?

And both of them are fighting the Muslims.

You see, suppose they have a revolution. Well, they'll get together then. Black man got to get together then. That's what I've been hearing. See, they gone have a revolution. I say they got to get together then.

O.K. You know, one of the most together things that ever happened was the Watts riot. You know--I don't know if you all were down here. I was down here and I noticed one thing--everybody was definitely together for four days.

You know something? If Malcolm X had been living, they would have been mo' together. Martin Luther King was living and wasn't nothing accomplished, see. Just like when all them people went to Washington, see. They said Martin Luther King led it. He didn't lead it. He got paid to lead that. They gave him 800,000 and promised him 700,000 more to get the people out. Yeah, all so called big six.

What you saying Martin Luther King was a front.

That's all he was. See, it's just like when, you know, when he died he died rich. When Malcolm X died, Malcolm X died po'. He didn't have a penny, you see, 'cause he believed in one thing: that was helping Black people. Martin Luther King was doing it for money.

What do you say about that, sir?

I think it's too many organizations, you know. It's too many to really accomplish anything. It's too many groups, yeah, to really, you know,----- some want to join in this group, and this group, and they all think different.

You think if we have the revolution, you think the Black man be able to stick together?

Oh, yeah, I think so.

You think that's what we really need? Right, good swining revolution. Godamn right, I think so too.

You know something? Look here, a lot of brothers say that, but when it come righteous down to time to shed some blood, they scared.

When the nitty gets gritty some people get shitty.

See, Black people are scared to die. They're scared of death. They're scared to die.

Alright. Now let's go on into another subject. We've talked about friendship, and people getting together. Now what about marriage? How you all feel about marriage?

No.

I don't feel--I--fuck marriage. I ain't ready to get married, nell no.

What about marriage, P.?

No, you understand me, it's just like ah, you understand me you get married, you understand me, while they talk that, y'understand me, that bebop shit, and everything like this here, you know. I mean, why? You say, well, baby lokke here, I'm fixing to go to work, y'understand me. I want you to have the house clean, and things like this. You go on to work, y'understand me, make that loooooong dough, y'understand me? Wow! What do you think she doing, cleaning up the house? Hell, no, she got another nigger over there, y'understand me?

Godamn hip.

That's right. That's right, 'cause, see, marriage take a lot of understanding. Takes a lot of understanding, and most people don't get married on understanding, they get married on sex.

They get married on sex?

That's right.

They get married on all bases. They get married on, uh, just because a dude got dough. Money, sex, uh, I wanna be close to her or his partner, something like that, you know. Just be gaming on her.

On, what you trying to say on the game side, they doing they thing.

That bunch of whores be getting married? Well, look at that!

'Them whores----them whores----that's all a bitch is , a whore. That's all. All of 'em.

A money-making mother fucking proposition.

The bitch ain't shit. She dob't make no money.

Well, is she a chippy?

Right on.

I know one makes 300 bucks a day, Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

This County broke up a whole lot of homes, you know, giving 'em money. They said, 'Well we don't need you no mc'. They separating you for a couple hours, for a couple weeks.

The Welfare, uh? That's what mess up a lot of marriages.

Sho' do.

Yeah. I'd like to ask one question about marriage. Most of you seem to be pre down on marriage, and I can dig it. But does anybody have something good to say about marriage? In other words, do you feel that marriage can be a relationship between a man and a woman where they have children, and they live together for the rest of their lives, and do something like that?

I got six kids, and I ain't never been married, and I've lived with a woman eleven years, and we're not married.

Oh, you've been living together. Well, that's just as good.

That's the same thing. That's marriage. In Africa you don't sign no paper, I don't think, and yet, you know, and all of that--it's all the same thing.

Hey, hey, J. , that you the the beautiful thing that you like about marriage, man, is that you over your kids. Ain't no other sucker over them, right? Right on. That's the beautiful thing that I like about it. I'd kill---boy, lokke here---any of my---boy, I wouldn't let my old lady take my little girl with her nowhere. If she leave, man, look, that's mine, Jack, shit. That's the beautiful thing about it, see. That's the only thing that's gone to keep us together. If anything keep us together, that's gone keep us together.

A few minutes ago that's why I call the bitches whores. Now, alright. I fuck around here, I fuck this bitch and get her pregnant. She have my motherfucking baby, run off somewhere with my motherfucking baby, and I fuck around, find out where she is, y'understand me, you know. I happen to goes over there, and here she got this other motherfucker sitting up there, and my baby running

around calling this motherfucker 'daddy.' How you think I'm gone feel, huh? This bitch ain't got sense enough to teach my baby not to know that this is not his daddy, or her daddy, you know?

So you all think that--What do you think is more important in a marriage, the wife, or the children? Who do you think comes first?

Children.

The wife come first. The wife always come first.

Bullshit. That's only a broad that, uh--Your woman can make it. A kid, they come in innocent, man, blind. They don't know a damn thing, man.

That's why you gotta have a mother for them children.

Ah, you can do that.

You cain't. Not sitting out here working, and you got a wife. She got to support them babies while you out here working, right? Now I'd like to ask one question. How many of us here don't live with a woman? Ask one question. How many of us in this place right now, that don't live with a woman? Now hold up your hands. Hold up your hands. You only got three mens that don't live with one.

Heyn hey, you saying you take care of your woman before you take care of your kids, right?

I have to take care of her, in order for her to take care of my children.

Cool it. We have a man that wants the floor.

Yeah, what is it, Mr. P.?

Man, man, you said you'd take care of your WHAT before-you take care of your wife before you take care of your kids?

I have to take care of her in order to take care of my children.

Now suppose she leave, y'understand me, and you taking care of her, y'understand me, and the kids at home, y'understand me, baby sitting, and things like that. O.K., she might have a, you know, a dude on the side, like, he comes over and things like this, and the kid's mother, "Well, looke here, I need this or that," you know, calling him "daddy", y'understand me? You don't even know about it. Then how you gone feel, if come, and see your little kid calling somebody else-- I mean, how would you feel, man?

Now you ask a good question. But looke here, the answer to that question is like, here: You and your wife is together, right?

Right on.

Alright. Then you still got to take care of her, you don't care who, but ain't no other man gone come in yo' house. Common sense will tell you that, and you won't be calling him no daddy.

If she gone, common sense know you gone have to support that child, right? But if she there, in the house with you, and the children with you, you gone have to support her. You gone have to give her that money, and all for her to take care of them kids.

Yeah, but suppose she take that money, spend it on her own self, and don't take care of the kids. Women do that, you know.

Then you come home and whip her ass.

Hold on F., look here. Ah, so, the question that we want you to answer, don't judge it in no respect, just say, ah, just answer the question yes or no, or I'd do this or I'd do that. Now if the shit hit the fan, and uh, which one would you take care first? I mean, which one would you take care of if the shit hit the fan? What I mean by that, trouble come in, and shit like that.

Are we still in the same house?

No.

Otherwise we been divorcing. We got a divorce.

No. I know how you feel about divorce. I don't want to put it like that. I don't want to put it in a separation. I wanted to put it--no wait. You and your woman is together. You know that she fucking up. What I mean, fucking up, uh, messing around with other people, other men, you know, just not together no more, you was when you first got her. Alright, and uh, and you continue making a buck. Now what would you do in a situation like that?

Well, in a situation like that, I still would have to support my family, wouldn't I.

True. . . . You don't have to give her a Godamn thing.

No, but I would have to support my children though, wouldn't I?

That's right. That's what you supposed to do.

And the law would make me support the kids, right?

That's what you supposed to do. Fuck the law. The law have nothing to do with it. You supposed to do that. Them yours, Jack.

Alright. Wouldn't I have to send in money through to keep me from going to jail? I'd still have to send that money right back to her, wouldn't I?

She gona take that money, buy that dude out there a Cadillac, if she want, but I still have to send that money to her, won't I?

O.K. Now, we've been talking about all this for a reason. I've said several times: "there's no use," You know, you can stand on any street corner and bull-shit all day, and you can learn a lot that way. But we're carrying this a step further. We wanna actually get something out of it, and what we want to get out of it is the ability to analyze what we're saying, to organize our thoughts. Because a lot of times, people try to say something, and they can't get their point across. And no matter how hard they try, they cannot make somebody else understand what they mean, you know. And if you can't do that, then it means that you are helpless in this situation. The difference between an educated man and a man that is not educated is that the educated man can get his point across. And if---like I said before, it doesn't have that much to do with whether you can do algebra, or you can do---or you know what a verb is, As long as you can express yourself, now this is one of the important things, in, in getting an education. You can get your education out on the street, or you can get it in a classroom, but as long as you can do that, you've got one of the battles won, you know. And so this is the reason we're going into this, so we can analyze what we're saying. If we have trouble expressing ourselves, then maybe we can redo it, and you know, go back over it, and uh, make it so that it comes out the way we meant, you know. 'Cause a lot of times we say things we don't mean. If you notice there were some people here that had different opinions about some things, and sometimes they changed their opinions, 'cause the first time they opened their mouths, they just said something that was on their mind, but it wasn't necessarily what they really believed. So let's go on. We stopped at uh, family life., and this, you know, when the shit hit the fan, so. . . We went from your personal life, you as an individual, to your family, to your friends, and now, let's go out into the community. Now, we've actually talked about this already. We were talking about how people, you know, don't help each other out. What is your idea of a community? Can you get an idea--can you give me some idea of what a community is to you?

Well, that's people that stick together and want to work together.

Alright.

Like, they might form some kind of committee and all of them, you know, like they got, uh, messed up houses. They get together, you know, wash them and paint them, if necessary. Fix 'em up, trying to make the community look good, you know, 'cause it possible, you know, have satisfactory schools, and, you know.

Is this happening?

No!

What about--I noticed right up here on Compton, I think it is,---Compton Street or Compton Avenue, or one of these, ah, there's a whole bunch of people that are out there planting trees. Did you hear about that?

No.

Anybody hear about that?

O.K., what do you think about that? Do you think it's a community project?

Yes, I think it is.

You're for that? You think it's good?

O.K. Anybody else see those young men out there planting trees? And you think that's good. That's an example of a community activity. What's another example of a community activity? We got one coming up in two weeks.

Oh, you mean the Watts Festival.

Yeah.

Supposed to been postponed, for a week or something. Man, I heard it in the news, I'm telling you.

It wasn't going to start at date that it started, you know, last year.

I thought it was going to go from the 4th to the 10th, or something like that.

It was supposed to, but they say something about it on the news, about they was going to postpone it or something.

You see, there's another example of no togetherness, see. Just like last Festival. Everybody supposed to be having fun, and they get to shooting, and fighting, you know. Next thing you know, police are here. It's right back where they started from, see. People just can't get along.

O.K., now. Why can't they get along?

Depressed. Then again, ah, try to escape something, and they go to drugs and alcohol.

Some of those reds probably make people mean.

Drugs and alcohol, does it every time.

Well, do you have any ideas about that? About the Watts Festival? I mean, what's going to happen if, let's say they have a Watts Festival, and you go out there, and have a good time, and somebody starts fucking up. Do you have any idea about that? Are you going to just sit there and watch? Are you going to go away? Are you going to jump in? What would your attitude be, if there was something like that happening? If there was a fight at the Festival, what would you do?

What you mean? A fight between who?

Alright, let's take a fight between two Black men, or a bunch of Black men.

Well, first thing would be, you know, if ah, somebody would try to, ah, stop it, you know.

Would you try to stop it?

I don't know. It depends on who it was, if I knew then. Now I ain't no fool. I ain't gone get up there and try to stop nobody I don't know, you know. Just me by myself.

Would you try to get some help?

Yeah, tant's possible. I might try that, but ah, you know, like, if I try to stop it, it don't stop. Man, you know, ain't nothing---I ain't no police or nothing. That's out of my hands, you know.

What about anybody else?

Well, you know something I think would be a good idea? To get some Black Special Guards. You know, them Special Guards, to patrol the prak. Not policemen, let them do what they would ordinarily do, you know, but for stop all the fighting. That would be a good solution.

When the Black people were protesting so much that there wasn't any Black cops, You ever notice when a Black cop and a White cop stop you, who treat you the baddest?

I'm not talking about cops, though.

Wait a minute, wait a minute. You say Special Police . . .

No, I said Special Guards.

Well, Special Guards, same thing.

You know, them guards you see in the market.

Right on. I know what you're talking about, but like, if they see somebody fighting, ah, you think that they're going to try to break it up, or they gone go in swinging? And you know they ain't nobody gone go for that.

Hey, but you know something? With 25 Special Guards walking around, ain't nobody gone do too much fighting.

Well, there's something else that you're forgetting. Now you say that the Black cops treat you the baddest. Alright, why? Why?

I'm telling you, because, ah to me, they act like they trying to show the White cop that they're not prejudiced, to me.

Yeah, it does seem like that, you know, 'cause I notice it all the time. You know, uh, when they're riding like that, uh, when the White one get out, he'll be courteous, you know, and the Black one treat you quite rough: "Get against the car", and push you against the car, and stuff.

I have a suggestion. I think the Sons of Watts can handle them pretty good, generally.

No. They didn't handle it good last two times.

I know, but they didn't have the right solution to go along with it, you know? But yet all they did with they hand. They need some sticks, you know. They need some sticks to break it up.

No, no, no. Sticks don't do nothing.

Tell me this.

I never goes to it. I'm kinda glad I didn't go to it last time.

I can make 60 dollars in three days.

You can make that much?

Yes, but the police dpartment sent us home, and they took over.

Then they started making the money.

No, we still got paid, but, we were just off.

What were you doing?

Directing traffic, I was.

Oh. So they do have community effort in keeping the control of traffic, and anybody satrts fighting, or anything like that . . .

Watts have it's own police department, within the Black Race itself. The Community Projectwh--they're called, ah. Thy're part of the Block Club. First you got your Block Club. Within the blocks you got your Block Club within the community. They all join forces for the Watts Festival. Then they have their own police force here.

O.K., well, like last year, you know, it didn't really work out. Well, you know, there was some shit going on last year. What happened last year?

It was alright until the police took over.

The Sons of Watts was taking care of business at first, then the Police Department came in and took it over Sunday. Then they started struggling.

O.K. So is there any way of keeping control of the police?

Yeah, now 'em down.

O.K, well, look what we've been saying. Before, in this morning we were talking about how Black people can't get together, and now we got a situation where they can get together, because you said that everything was alright until Sunday last year. And everybody was together until Sunday. Is that right?

Right on.

Alright. So why is it that they can't get together, what happened?

Police got involved.

The police got involved. And you think that--

It wasn't that. It was too much conflict among the Black people, that's what it was. Everybody wanted to be a leader, and nobody knew where nobody was gone. So then the police took over, that's what it was.

So you think that the conflict started before the police got there?

The conflict started among the Sons of Watts. They were gone do certain things that they didn't want nobody else to do, and they wasn't authorized to do it no way. So then everybody said the hell with it, you know. Like, running through barricades, and don't let nobody else come through. Close behind, you know, like flunkies, you know. So, you know, the Man seen the conflict, you know, and he did the righteous thing, about taking it over. I mean my opinion, because otherwise it was gone be a bloody mess out there, you know. Don't come up and tell me one minute to do this, don't let nobody come through, and then you run over, then the next man gone try to follow you. Then I'm wrong to let him go through there. Shit.

What you're saying, it was Black against Black out there.

That's what it was, that's what it was.

So in other words, you still have the same opinion you had this morning. It's still Black against Black.

And when the Black man get together, watch out.

O.K

Until then, you know.

Alright. Now we've gone into the community. We've discussed some things about the community. What's the next thing? Territory, right? From a community you go to the territory, the larger area. In other words, all of Los Angeles. So, do you feel--- you feel any ties---you feel ties in the community. I imagine this is what you're saying, right? That you feel responsibility for the people in the community, and what happens to the community, is that right?

You don't feel any responsibility for the community?

No, indeed.

There's a man over here, ah, Mr. Williams. You said you did not feel any responsibility for the community.

I didn't say anything.

I mean, this morning you did. Is that right? Did I understand you?

I don't feel any responsibility for the community.

You don't feel?

I don't have any responsibility for the community.

. . . because, see, in the community where you live in, we all have a sponsibility. Not just one oerson, not just two, all. Is a group of people live in the same community, and everyone should have some kind of helping hand in that community, and all keep that community that they loving in, surviving. Other than that, we won't have a community. That's my belief.

O.K. Now, who else doesn't feel any responsibility for the community? Does NOT.

Now, what Freddie is saying is true, to a certain point, but ah, community----
I call the store five times in the same place.

Who's coffee?

Ah, you can have it if you want it.

Didn't any police officer do anything. Some of the neighbors saw it, but yet, wasn't anything did about it. So what he is saying is true to a certain extent, but I'm like what you said. No, I don't have nothing for the community.

O.K. Now, can I make a statenent?

Sure.

Look. I feel like this: Like, the Watts Festival, the way it was planned. was all wrong. I mean, as far as the Sons of Watts, because the leader got mad and said, "Well, look here man, look here, man." That went on for two or three days, and still didn't get no understanding. O.K., now as it stood, Everybody had a outline of they job duties. But the leaders of it should be replaced, because they say one thing, and they do something else, and they want to know why cain't nobody else do it, you know. Everybody else want to follow them, you know. O.K. now, and I feel again like this on this community deal. If everybody go along-- wait a minute--if everybody go along with it. But ah, when you have people in the community that say, well ah, you know, ah, I'm just going to sit back and let it go the way it wan to go, you know, well then, you don't have no unity, and ah, so if you don't have no unity, I figure like this: If you're not gone help me, why should I give a damn about you? You know. So that's the way I feel about it.

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So you think that a community spirit is a good thing if it's a democratic sort of thing?

Yeah. Get rid of the older people. The older people are the ones that are talking about 'the Festival is a nuisance.'

Wait a minute, wait a minute.

I know who's trying to get rid of me!

Understand me, you older, ah, suckers. You the ones got the world in the situation that it is now.

Teach!

Change with the world, that's all.

How you going to change my attitude? I've had this attitude for the last . . .

That's what I'm talking about. Sooner or later you're going to die out, and the younger generation will change everything.

I won't be the first one dies. I'll be here as long as you will.

Ah, what we all saying is that you think that the young guys, well, the young guys and the old guys, are having a different variation here. Really, they all mean the same thing, but only thing about it, it's not all the old individuals, It's just there are some that are going behind the religious status, that are going behind this other thing, right? O.K, now, see, it's not everybody.

I tell you what. I tell you what. You get rid of me today, or all the rest-- wait a minute-- all the rest of the old peoples like me, today. The world would be full of nothing but a young gangster mob.

It's better than getting down, laying down and getting beat on the head.

Look here, just like they told Martin Luther King. Why should I, an, sit down and get hit by the stick? Let me operate the stick a little bit, hu? Let me operate the stick.

Teach!

Let me operate the stick, sometime. The stick been used on me, O.K, I should know how the stick operate, right? So if I'm not qualified to drive the stick, then keep on beating me. And if you don't want to learn how to drive the stick, well keep on getting rode.

O.K., let's talk about the stick for a minute. Now we were talking about the community. Some of you feel an allegiance to the community, and some of you do not. What about the territory? That's the stick.

The territory as a whole?

In other words, the entire Southern California area, the city government, the Los Angeles area, which is not Watts, it's not South Central Los Angeles, it's not the Community, but it's the larger area. Do any of you feel any allegiance to that? Do you feel any allegiance to what's going on downtown? The buildings going up downtown? The freeways? Do you care whether they put a freeway in Pasadena or not?

Hell, no.

Does anybody feel any responsibility for Los Angeles as a city?

Yes, I do.

Alright, let's hear it.

I do. I think everytime that you are in a community, ah, not, ah, anyplace, making a place more dignified, more decent for your own child that you're talking and speaking of, the younger generation to come up in, then they won't have that to worry about when they come up. But at the present time, like you say, like the young man over there say, that ah, you know, you don't seem to let the young man have the stick. Well, give him the stick. Let him show his own, ah, qualification. But in the meantime, while he showing the qualification, the old man got to be back there pushing him, making him go up higher, so that the community that he live in be better community that his child can come up in.

Now, would you want your kids to come up in the same environment that you came up in? Where they push you around, shove you around---wait a minute now, this is what you doing . . . You want---I don't want my kids to come up in the environment I had, where when you go to school---"you can't read like that?" "Well, he's a certain age, shove him on out." Hell, no. Do it like the Catholic schools. If you don't know it---if you don't know it, get on out or let's learn it, you know. Don't stick no certificate in a man's hand, say O.K., he completed so-and-so, and he's just as dumb as the certificate. Don't know shit. No, hell, no. Either he learn, you know, or have some dedicated people there to teach him. No, I mean, you know, like the younger generation. They see what we went through. They don't want to go through it, and I say, well, O.K., look, I mean you know well you can do a lot of things without violence, but I tell you one thing: I'm not gone bend down on no street, let them beat the hell outa me. Let me operate the stick a little bit, you know. Don't let them stand on the side of a scoop shovel and you showing me how to run it. Let me run it.

Well, just like I was saying. Give you the stick. Let's see what you can do with the stick.

O.K., now, this is a good point. Now were talking about the older generation transferring power to the younger generation, right? Now what is the younger---

The younger generation is tired of what the older generation was accepting., and want to pass along to them. A tradition.

Alright, what is the younger generation going to do?

Like, Columbus discovered America. Who know that? This is what we been taught.

This is a tradition. O.K., you tell me this from a baby. "Baby, baby, baby, baby. You learn how to speak English like that. What are you going to speak when you get up--English, right? He don't know whether that's his native language, or what, you know. I mean, he wants to find out what's true, and what's false. He been living in a world of lies all his life, 'cause thats all it is, lies.

O.K., what is the younger generation going to do? What is the younger generation going to do about education---we mentioned over here. Now what do you think the younger generation is going to do and should do about education, how to improve education. I think we all agree that education's pretty shitty.

They doing it now. They trying to cahnge it now. They trying to change the whole curriculum at all these universities. That's why everybody having so much uproar---they trying to change it. Because you teaching them something that's false, and they want to know the truth.

O.K. Does everybody agree to that?

Yes.

Anybody not agree to that?

O.K., now what about law? Now, we're talking about the territory, now. We're ta,king about the larger society, which is where all of these things come from.

Now you want to know about law?

The law.

Sure, the law should be changed, 'cause they got the law established as it was back in, .. in say, the 1800's. Back in the 1800's, they did certain things then that they don't do now. So the law should be changed as time change. But what I mean, is, time is changing. The law is standing still, you know what I mean? Everything should progress together. They got to get off of this off the wall kick: "Hey, boy, your finger prints ain't on here? Come on, go down here with me." So I mean, leave a cat clean, if he haven't did nothing.

How are you going to cahnge it? How are you going to cahnge it?

Well, that's what I'm trying to say, when you get some of them younger fellows in there , that know the right ideas about things. Put them in there. O.K., wait a minute. You got fellows that are in a frame of mind that's 18 years old,

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that know who they want to vote for. The voting age. Let 'em lower it down.

So you think that the vote has a lot to do with. O.K.

If the ballots can't win, then, you know, bring out the bullets. Something got to give.

Teach! Teach!

Wait a minute. This is my opinion.

That's right, that's what I want. Everybody's giving their opinion. Alright. There's something very interesting going on in Watts, that I don't know if you're all aware of it, as far as voting is concerned. Now the district has been divided into several different areas, and half of the Black population is over on, ah, kind of over toward Westwood, where there's a lot of White people over there. Half of the Black population is over toward, ah, farther on toward, ah, Commerce, and some of those towns over there. Now these areas are divided up so that you don't have an all Black voting block. Now what are you going to-- if you say that the vote is the important thing, you see, we have two different things here. We have a vote for the community, and we have a vote for the larger territory, the Los Angeles Area. What do you think about that? You think all Black people should vote as a block?

No. I figure like this: Each individual should come to his state of mind, and look at his candidates' background, and vote for who he want to vote for, whether he's White, Black, Green or what. The man that's best suited to fulfill his personal needs, and maybe his surrounding area. If he figure that this man is going to improve the streets, improve, ah, driving conditions, street lighting, school teaching, and all that, vote for him. Fine and dandy. I don't crawl on his back. But why say, uh, you got ignorant people. Like I'm saying, you got ignorant people that can't read. Other people say, "Well, look, you vote for Sam Jones over----because Sam Jones gone do ----You think so? Yeah---O.K. Well, I'll vote for Sam Jones, 'cause Hunk over here told me, " you know, and still, learning how to sit down and read. This is what I'm talking about. Education. He can't even read. His status, he can't, you know, listen to the televi. He don't know what the hell that man is saying. The man use all them big phrases. Well, I'm gome utilize . . . They don't know utilize mean "use", and all this, you know. They ignorant here. When they get the education in they minds, to understand what that man's saying, then they say, "Well, I don't want that man. What do you mean, I'm voting for that man for? Look what he's doing." Because they was ignorant to the fact that they didn't know what he understand what he was saying in the first place. That's what I mean by education.

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